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PORTRAITS

OF

Illustrious Personages

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

ENGRAVED FROM

AUTHENTIC PICTURES IN THE GALLERIES OF THE NOBILITY AND THE PUBLIC COLLECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY.

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF THEIR LIVES AND ACTIONS,

BY

EDMUND LODGE, ESQ. F. S. A.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR HARDING AND LEPARD.

1835.

19507

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WELLCOME
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PREFACE

(PUBLISHED WITH THE FIRST EDITION IN FOLIO.)

In imparting to the public five years since, the design of this great work and the character with which it was proposed to invest it, the author took the liberty to offer some remarks of a general nature, the substance of which it may perhaps be necessary, at all events cannot be improper, to recapitulate in this place.

"It is needless," he observed, "to descant largely on the extended information and delight which we derive from the multiplication of portraits by engraving, or on the more important advantages resulting from the study of biography. Separately considered, the one affords an amusement not less innocent than elegant; inculcates the rudiments, or aids the progress, of taste; and rescues from the hand of time the perishable monuments raised by the pencil. The other, while it is perhaps the most agreeable branch of historical literature, is certainly the most useful in its moral effects; stating the known circumstances, and endeavouring to unfold the secret motives, of human conduct; selecting all that is worthy of being recorded; bestowing its lasting encomiums and chastisements; it at once informs and invigorates the

mind, and warms and mends the heart. It is however," added he, " from the combination of portraits and biography that we reap the utmost degree of utility and pleasure which can be derived from them : as in contemplating the portrait of an eminent person we long to be instructed in his history, so in considering his actions we are anxious to behold his countenance. So earnest is this desire, that the imagination is generally ready to coin a set of features, or to conceive a character, to supply the painful absence of the one or the other. All sensible minds have experienced these illusions, and from a morbid excess of this interesting feeling have arisen the errors and extravagancies of the theory of physiognomy." It was not then with the mere view of perpetuating the histories or the resemblances of the illustrious dead ; of exhibiting the skill of the painter, or the fidelity of the engraver ; that this work was undertaken ; but in the hope, by a combined effort, to make the strongest possible impression on the judgement and the memory, as well as on the imagination ; and to give to biography and portraits, by uniting them, what may very properly be called their natural, and best moral direction.

Publications of similar character have already appeared in this country, and are held in high estimation. Among these the most important are the superb collections of Houbraken and Birch, and of the imitations of Holbein's heads from the exquisite original drawings in his Majesty's library. Each of these has its faults. Houbraken, as the late Lord Orford justly observes in his Catalogue of Engravers, " lived in Holland, was ignorant of our history, uninquisitive into the

authenticity of the drawings which were transmitted to him, and engraved whatever was sent;" and adduces two instances, Car, Earl of Somerset, and Secretary Thurlow, as not only spurious, but as being destitute of any the least resemblance to the persons they pretend to represent. An anonymous, but evidently well informed, writer asserts, in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1788, that "Thurlow's, and about thirty of the others, are copied from heads painted for no one knows whom." While Houbraken thus sacrificed the truth of his subjects to the delicacies of his art, Birch, on the contrary, performed his part of the task with a laudable fidelity in his recitals of facts, but with an almost total inattention to delineation of character, or grace of language, as though he feared that the simplicity of truth might be disguised by a decent garb, and that biography might be in danger of degenerating into romance were it occasionally to endeavour to trace remarkable instances in the conduct of mankind to their proper intellectual sources. The defects of the other fine work were in a great measure unavoidable. Confined to the period of a single reign, it was too circumscribed to embrace the objects of the present design, and was intended rather to exhibit choice specimens of a particular master than portraits of distinguished characters. It presents therefore a motley mixture of eminence and obscurity; of the resemblances of princes, heroes, and statesmen, who never could have been forgotten, with those of inoffensive country gentlemen and their wives, of whose very existence we should have remained ignorant but for the immortalizing pencil of Holbein.

How far these various faults may have been avoided in the

present publication is a question which it would be presumptuous to affect to answer in this place. The authenticity of the memoirs here presented will stand or fall by the application of tests which are within the reach of every reader; the truth of the correspondent portraits may be tried by an examination of the originals, which are in every instance referred to; and the degree of skill displayed in the engravings will speak for itself. It will be obvious to the experienced eye, that the talents of the engraver have been exerted upon pictures of very varied degrees of excellence; for whilst this work has extended our knowledge of some of the finest portraits of Rubens and Vandyke, others have claimed preservation as being the only memorials which are left to us of the persons represented. These are even more valuable, considered historically, for without them we should be deprived of the resemblances of some of the most illustrious characters in history who lived either in the infancy of the arts, or at periods when they were depressed by the more bustling interest of political strife or warlike contention.

It may be pardonable to assert on the behalf of the proprietors that they have attempted to their utmost to possess their country of a work as perfect as human fallibility could permit; beautiful and correct in its two essential characters, and magnificent in all its subordinate features. They have spared no pains; they have denied no expence; in their anxious endeavours to render it an acceptable tribute to living taste and judgement, and a monument worthy of dedication to the exalted memory of those whom it professes to celebrate. Their diffidence of its merits has certainly been

in some degree lessened by a fact which, while gratitude impels them to declare, pride could scarcely have allowed them to conceal—the patronage and success which the work has experienced have been nearly unexampled.

The author of the memoirs too may perhaps be allowed to use a few words on his part of the task. He claims no degree of merit beyond that which may justly belong to patient circumspection, laborious research, and impartial relation; and he has no other motive for asserting that those advantages really have been bestowed on them than a wish to procure for them the favour of mere perusal. Without this caution, it is more than probable that they might sink unobserved under the weight of a general and most excuseable prejudice; for when he recollects the vague and frothy essays which almost invariably wait on engravings in ceremonious portions of what on such occasions is most properly called "letter-press," being in fact nothing else, he feels it necessary thus to bespeak for the fruits of his labour, humble as they may be, at least a fair trial. He has employed the best powers of his mind to give to these tracts as much of the true character of biography as the space allotted to them could allow. He has silently passed over minor and insignificant facts, and sought diligently for original and novel intelligence. He has lost no opportunities of correcting misrepresentation; of placing neglected or misconceived objects in their just lights; or of endeavouring to describe characters with strict impartiality and truth. It has been indeed his chief anxiety to distinguish himself from those "gentle historians" whose strains of unvaried panegyric were once honoured beyond

their deserts by a sarcasm from the pen of the incomparable Burke. His judgement, however frequently it may be found erroneous, and his expression of it have been wholly unbiassed by any private motives. He has described men and things as he thought they deserved, and his friends have told him that he has sometimes spoken too plainly, but they have not been able to convince him that he has done wrong.

Quitting however these selfish topics, let us hasten to conclude this short address with a sincere declaration of those better feelings which perhaps alone rendered any sort of preface essentially necessary to the following sheets. Be it permitted to us most gratefully to acknowledge the condescension with which our solicitations for the powerful aid of those not less distinguished by their taste than by their exalted rank have been received, and the liberality with which the use of a vast treasure of inestimable pictures has been granted by the possessors of the most eminent collections in the land. Patronised and encouraged in every way by the noblemen and gentlemen who are respectively named on the several plates, from their bounty have arisen the means of producing a work which has laid us under such deep obligation to public favour. Justly ascribing it then to their splendid generosity, be it, with the most profound respect and gratitude, to them dedicated.

APPENDIX TO PREFACE.

The design of this Collection of Portraits and Biography, more extensive than any which has been formed in this or in any other country, and so eminently illustrative of British History, has been fully laid down in the preceding Preface from the Author which accompanied the first Edition of the Work. Any address at the termination of it would have been unnecessary except so far as it afforded the Projector an opportunity to state that in conducting the Work to its completion, the same attention to excellence in the execution of its several important details has been invariably persevered in, as was pledged to be observed when the Prospectus was first issued for the intended publication, more than twenty years ago. Since that period the most extraordinary patronage that ever attended any literary effort to obtain public approval, has accompanied and cheered the Projector of the Work in the execution of his arduous but gratifying labour, and among the numerous acknowledgments with which he has been honoured expressive of satisfaction with his endeavour to merit the favour thus profusely extended to him, the following testimony from the pen of him who delighted his countrymen by the fertility of his talent, at the same time that he exalted the reputation of his country's literature by the splendour of his genius, is at once a subject of exultation

and of regret,—exultation at the approval of so accomplished an authority, and regret that the writer of it should so soon have ceased to be numbered among the living honours of his country. The decease of the illustrious author of the following letter prior to the completion of the Work which formed the subject of his eulogy, has afforded the humble individual to whom it is addressed the gratification, although a mournful one, of enriching this Collection of Portraits and Lives of British Worthies, with the Memorial of one of the most illustrious men of his age.

"SIR,

"I am obliged by your Letter, requesting that I would express to you my sentiments respecting Mr. Lodge's splendid Work, consisting of the Portraits of the most celebrated persons of English History, accompanied with Memoirs of their lives. I was at first disposed to decline offering any opinion on the subject; not because I had the slightest doubt in my own mind concerning the high value of the Work, but because in expressing sentiments I might be exposed to censure, as if attaching to my own judgment more importance than it could deserve. Mr. Lodge's Work is however one of such vast consequence, that a person attached as I have been for many years to the study of History and Antiquities, may, I think, in a case of this rare and peculiar kind, be justly blamed for refusing his opinion, if required, concerning a publication of such value and importance.

"Mr. Lodge's talents as a Historian and Antiquary are well known to the public by his admirable collection of an-

cient letters and documents, entitled Illustrations of British History, a book which I have very frequently consulted; and have almost always succeeded in finding not only the information required, but collected a great deal more as I went in search of it. The present Work presents the same talents and industry; the same patient powers of collecting information from the most obscure and hidden sources, and the same talent for selecting the facts which are the rarest and most interesting, and presenting them to the general reader in a luminous and concise manner.

"It is impossible for me to conceive a work which ought to be more interesting to the present age than that which exhibits before our eyes our 'fathers as they lived,' accompanied with such memorials of their lives and characters as enable us to compare their persons and countenances with their sentiments and actions.

"I pretend to offer no opinion upon the value of the Work in respect to art—my opinion on that subject is literally worth nothing in addition to that of the numerous judges of paramount authority which have already admitted its high merits. But I may presume to say that this valuable and extended Series of the Portraits of the Illustrious Dead affords to every private gentleman, at a moderate expence, the interest attached to a large Gallery of British Portraits, on a plan more extensive than any collection which exists, and at the same time the essence of a curious library of historical, bibliographical, and antiquarian works. It is a work which, in regard to England, might deserve the noble motto rendered with such dignity by Dryden:

APPENDIX TO PREFACE.

'From hence the line of Alban fathers come,
'And the long glories of majestic Rome.'

"I will enlarge no more on the topic, because I am certain that it requires not the voice of an obscure individual to point out to the British public the merits of a Collection which at once satisfies the imagination and the understanding, shewing us by the pencil how the most distinguished of our ancestors looked, moved and dressed; and informs us by the pen how they thought, acted, lived and died. I should in any other case have declined expressing an opinion in this public, and almost intrusive manner; but I feel that, when called upon to bear evidence in such a cause, it would be unmanly to decline appearing in Court, although expressing an opinion to which, however just, my name can add but little weight.

I am, Sir,
your obedient Servant,
WALTER SCOTT."

To Mr. Harding, Bookseller, London. *Abbotsford, 25th March,* 1828.

To the highly gifted and accomplished Author of the Memoirs by which the Portraits are so richly illustrated, thus eloquently eulogised by Sir Walter Scott, the conductor of the Work begs to offer his best acknowledgments, for directing the talents with which he is thus powerfully endowed, so forcibly to bear upon that part of the undertaking which was confided to his taste and execution. "The short pieces of biography which accompany the Portraits from the pen of Mr. Lodge, are," as a contemporary

writer happily designates them, "as characteristic as the Portraits themselves. Such an union of various talents, such a GALLERY OF ILLUSTRIOUS DEAD was never before presented to the Public." Perhaps the strongest possible evidence of the high ground which this work originally assumed and which has been invariably maintained, is to be found in the numerous Piracies of its Plan which have attended the course of its publication during a period of more than twenty years. The herd of anonymous and servile imitators who have followed at a respectful distance in the train of this Work, watching the development of its plan and copying its principal features, have given rise to numerous *Portrait Galleries* and other publications in avowed admission of its excellence and in imitation of its design. These imitators, by substituting cheapness of manufacture for sterling worth of execution, have endeavoured to thrust their spurious ware upon public notice, and have sought an ephemeral existence by fixing them upon the high reputation which has been awarded to this great work from the commencement to the close of its progress.

JOSEPH HARDING.

London, August 1, 1835.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

The Preface, to follow the Title-Page of Volume I. pages 1 to 11.

The pagination of the Preface, and the Appendix is at the bottom of the pages.

The Table of Contents of the whole work, divided into Volumes, with the Names of the Painters of the Portraits, and the Collections from whence they have been selected, is to follow the Appendix to Preface in Volume I. pages 1 to 24. This Table has a fresh pagination, and is without signatures.

The Table of Contents of each subsequent Volume, is to follow its respective Title-page.

CHRONOLOGICAL ARRANGEMENT

OF THE WHOLE OF

THE PLATES,

DIVIDED INTO VOLUMES, AND CONSISTING OF

TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY PORTRAITS.

VOLUME I.

1. ELIZABETH OF YORK, QUEEN OF HENRY THE SEVENTH. 1502

From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Essex, at Cashiobury.

2. THOMAS STANLEY, EARL OF DERBY, HOLBEIN. 1504

From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Derby, at Knowsley.

3. MARGARET OF LANCASTER, MOTHER OF KING HENRY THE SEVENTH, - - - - 1509

From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Derby, at Knowsley.

4. CARDINAL WOLSEY, - - HOLBEIN. 1530

From the Collection at Christ-Church, Oxford.

5. WILLIAM WARHAM, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. HOLBEIN. 1532

From the Collection of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth Palace.

6. SIR JOHN MORE, - - - HOLBEIN. 1533

From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Pembroke, at Wilton House.

7. SIR THOMAS MORE, - - - HOLBEIN. 1535

From the Collection of W. J. Lenthal, Esq. at Burford Priory.

8 QUEEN ANNE BULLEN, - - HOLBEIN. 1536
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Warwick, at Warwick Castle.

9. QUEEN JANE SEYMOUR, - - HOLBEIN. 1537
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn Abbey.

10. SIR NICHOLAS CAREW, - - HOLBEIN. 1539
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch, at Dalkeith Palace.

11. THOMAS CROMWELL, EARL OF ESSEX, HOLBEIN. 1540
From the Collection of Sir Thomas Constable, Bart. at Tixall.

12. MARGARET TUDOR, SISTER TO KING HENRY THE EIGHTH, - - - HOLBEIN. 1541
From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Lothian, at Newbattle Abbey.

13. CHARLES BRANDON, DUKE OF SUFFOLK, - 1545
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn Abbey.

14. CARDINAL BEATOUN, - - - - 1546
From the Original in Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh.

15. HENRY HOWARD, EARL OF SURREY, - TITIAN. 1547
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, at Arundel Castle.

16. KING HENRY THE EIGHTH, - HOLBEIN. 1547
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Egremont, at Petworth.

17. QUEEN CATHARINE PARR, - - HOLBEIN. 1548
From the Collection of Dawson Turner, Esq. A. M. F. R. A. and L. S.

18. THOMAS, LORD SEYMOUR OF SUDELEY, HOLBEIN. 1549
From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Bath, at Longleat.

19. SIR ANTHONY DENNY, - . HOLBEIN. 1549
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Radnor, at Longford Castle.

20. EDWARD SEYMOUR, DUKE OF SOMERSET, HOLBEIN. 1552
From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Bath, at Longleat.

VOLUME II.

21. KING EDWARD THE SIXTH, - - HOLBEIN. 1553
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Egremont, at Petworth.

22. JOHN DUDLEY, DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND, HOLBEIN. 1553
From the Collection of Sir J. S. Sidney, Bart. at Penshurst.

23. THOMAS HOWARD, DUKE OF NORFOLK, HOLBEIN. 1554
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, at Norfolk House.

24. LADY JANE GREY, - - - - - 1554
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Stamford and Warrington, at Enville Hall.

25. HENRY GREY, DUKE OF SUFFOLK, MARK GERARD. 1554
From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Salisbury, at Hatfield.

26. JOHN RUSSELL, FIRST EARL OF BEDFORD, 1555
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn Abbey.

27. NICHOLAS RIDLEY, BISHOP OF LONDON, - 1555
From the Original in the Collection of the Reverend Henry Ridley, D. D.

28. THOMAS CRANMER, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, FLICK. 1556
From the Collection in the British Museum.

29. EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL OF DEVONSHIRE, SIR ANTONIO MORE. 1556

From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn Abbey.

30. CARDINAL POLE, - - - TITIAN. 1557

From the Collection of the Right Honourable Lord Arundell, of Wardour, at Wardour Castle.

31. MARY, QUEEN OF ENGLAND, - HOLBEIN. 1558

From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Exeter, at Burghley House.

32. WILLIAM, FIRST LORD PAGET, - HOLBEIN. 1563

From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Anglesea, at Beaudesert.

33. EDWARD, FIRST LORD NORTH, - - 1564

From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Guilford, at Wroxton Abbey.

34. HENRY STUART, LORD DARNLEY, KING OF SCOTLAND, 1567

From the Original in the Collection of the late Earl of Seaforth, at Brahan Castle.

35. JAMES STUART, EARL OF MURRAY, REGENT OF SCOTLAND, - - - - 1570

From the Collection at Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh.

36. JOHN KNOX, - - - - 1572

From the Original in Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh.

37. THOMAS HOWARD, FOURTH DUKE OF NORFOLK, 1572

From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, at Arundel Castle.

38. WILLIAM POWLETT, MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER, HOLBEIN. 1572

From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Northumberland, at Northumberland House.

39. SIR WILLIAM MAITLAND, OF LETHINGTON, - 1573

From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Lauderdale, at Thirlestane Castle.

40. JAMES HAMILTON, EARL OF ARRAN, DUKE OF CHATELHERAULT, - - - KETEL. 1574

From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Hamilton, at Hamilton Palace.

VOLUME III.

41. MATTHEW PARKER, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, 1575

From the Collection of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth Palace.

42. WALTER DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX, - - 1576

From the Collection of the Right Honourable Lord Bagot, at Blythfield.

43. SIR NICHOLAS BACON, - - ZUCCHERO. 1579

From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn Abbey.

44. SIR THOMAS GRESHAM, - - HOLBEIN. 1579

From the Collection in Mercer's Hall, London.

45. HENRY FITZALAN, EARL OF ARUNDEL, HOLBEIN. 1580

From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Bath, at Longleat.

46. JAMES DOUGLAS, EARL OF MORTON, - - 1581

From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Morton, at Dalmahoy.

47. THOMAS RADCLYFFE, EARL OF SUSSEX, SIR A. MORE. 1583

From the Collection of William Radclyffe, Esq.

48. EDWARD CLINTON, EARL OF LINCOLN, - KETEL. 1584

From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn Abbey.

49. SIR PHILIP SIDNEY, - - SIR A. MORE. 1586

From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn Abbey.

50. MARY STUART, QUEEN OF SCOTLAND, - - 1587

From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Morton, at Dalmahoy.

51. ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER, - - 1588
From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Salisbury, at Hatfield.

52. AMBROSE DUDLEY, EARL OF WARWICK, - 1590
From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Salisbury, at Hatfield.

53. SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, - - - 1590
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Dorset, at Knole.

54. SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON, - - KETEL. 1591
From the Collection of the Right Honourable Viscount Dillon, at Ditchley.

55. CARDINAL ALLEN, - - - - 1594
From the Collection of Browne Mostyn, Esq. at Kiddington.

56. SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, - - - - 1595
From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Lothian, at Newbattle Abbey.

57. PHILIP HOWARD, EARL OF ARUNDEL, ZUCCHERO. 1595
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, at Norfolk House.

58. JOHN, FIRST LORD MAITLAND, OF THIRLESTANE, 1595
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Lauderdale, at Thirlestane Castle.

59. WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHLEY, M. GERARD. 1598
From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Exeter, at Burghley House.

60. ROBERT DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX. HILLIARD. 1601
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Verulam, at Gorhambury.

VOLUME IV.

61. QUEEN ELIZABETH, - - ZUCCHERO. 1603
From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Salisbury, at Hatfield.

62. JOHN, FIRST MARQUIS OF HAMILTON, MARK GERARD. 1604
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Hamilton, at Hamilton Palace.

63. GEORGE CLIFFORD, EARL OF CUMBERLAND, - 1605
From the Bodleian Gallery, Oxford.

64. CHARLES BLOUNT, BARON MONTJOY AND EARL OF DEVONSHIRE, - - - PANTOXA. 1606
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Hamilton, at Hamilton Palace.

65. THOMAS SACKVILLE, EARL OF DORSET, - 1608
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Dorset, at Knole.

66. SIR THOMAS BODLEY, - - - JANSEN. 1612
From the Bodleian Gallery, Oxford.

67. ROBERT CECIL, EARL OF SALISBURY. ZUCCHERO. 1612
From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Salisbury, at Hatfield House.

68. HENRY PRINCE OF WALES, - - MYTENS. 1612
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Dorset, at Knole.

69. HENRY HOWARD, EARL OF NORTHAMPTON, ZUCCHERO. 1614
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Carlisle, at Castle Howard.

70. LADY ARABELLA STUART, - - VAN SOMER. 1615
From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Bath, at Longleat.

71. THOMAS EGERTON, VISCOUNT BRACKLEY, - 1617
From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Stafford, at Cleveland House.

72. SIR WALTER RALEIGH, - - ZUCCHERO. 1618
From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Bath, at Longleat.

73. MARY SIDNEY, COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE, GERARD. 1621
From the Collection of Sir John Shelley Sidney, Bart. Penshurst.

74. THOMAS CECIL, FIRST EARL OF EXETER, JANSEN. 1621
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Marquis of Exeter, at Burleigh House.

75. HENRY WRIOTHESLEY, EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON, MIREVELT. 1624
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn Abbey.

76. JAMES, SECOND MARQUIS OF HAMILTON, VAN SOMER. 1624
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Hamilton, at Hamilton Palace.

77. CHARLES HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM, EARL OF NOTTINGHAM, - - - - 1624
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Verulam, at Gorhambury.

78. LODOWICK STUART, DUKE OF RICHMOND, VAN SOMER. 1624
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Egremont, at Petworth.

79. FRANCIS BACON, VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN, VAN SOMER. 1626
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Verulam, at Gorhambury.

80. THOMAS HOWARD, EARL OF SUFFOLK, ZUCCHERO. 1626
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Carlisle, at Castle Howard.

VOLUME V.

81. EDWARD SOMERSET, EARL OF WORCESTER, ZUCCHERO. 1627
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Verulam, at Gorhambury.

82. LUCY HARINGTON, COUNTESS OF BEDFORD,
HONTHORST. *Widowed*, 1627

From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn Abbey.

83. GEORGE VILLIERS, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM,
JANSEN. 1628

From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Clarendon, at Grove Park.

84. FULKE GREVILLE, LORD BROOKE, - - 1628

From the Collection of the Right Honourable Willoughby de Broke, at Compton-Verney.

85. GEORGE CAREW, EARL OF TOTNES, - ZUCCHERO. 1629

From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Verulam, at Gorhambury.

86. WILLIAM HERBERT, EARL OF PEMBROKE,
VANDYKE. 1630

From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Pembroke, at Wilton House.

87. SIR HUGH MIDDLETON - - 1631

From the Original in Goldsmith's Hall, London.

88. HENRY PERCY, EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND,
VANDYKE. 1632

From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Egremont, at Petworth.

89. GEORGE ABBOT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, 1633

From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Verulam, at Gorhambury.

90. RICHARD WESTON, EARL OF PORTLAND, VANDYKE. 1634

From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Verulam, at Gorhambury.

91. WALTER, FIRST LORD ASTON, - - - 1639

From the Collection of Thomas Blount, Esq. at Bellamour.

92. FRANCES HOWARD, DUCHESS OF RICHMOND, VANDYKE. 1639

From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Bath, at Longleat.

93. SIR HENRY WOTTON, - - JANSEN. 1639

From the Bodleian Gallery, Oxford.

94. THOMAS, LORD KEEPER COVENTRY, JANSEN. 1640

From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Clarendon, at the Grove.

95. FRANCIS RUSSELL, EARL OF BEDFORD, VANDYKE. 1641

From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn Abbey.

96. THOMAS WENTWORTH, EARL OF STRAFFORD, VANDYKE. 1641

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97. ROBERT BERTIE, EARL OF LINDSEY, VANDYKE. 1642

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98. ROBERT GREVILLE, LORD BROOKE, - 1643

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99. SPENCER COMPTON, EARL OF NORTHAMPTON, 1643

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100. ROBERT DORMER, EARL OF CAERNARVON, VANDYKE. 1643

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239. ADMIRAL VISCOUNT EXMOUTH, - LAWRENCE. 1833
From the Collection of Edward Hawke Locker, Esq.

240. ARTHUR WELLESLEY, DUKE OF WELLINGTON.
In the possession of Mr. Joseph Harding. LAWRENCE.
(The *Figure* from a Picture by Evans.)

Engraved by W. Holl.

ELIZABETH OF YORK.

QUEEN TO HENRY THE SEVENTH.

OB. 1502.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF ESSEX.

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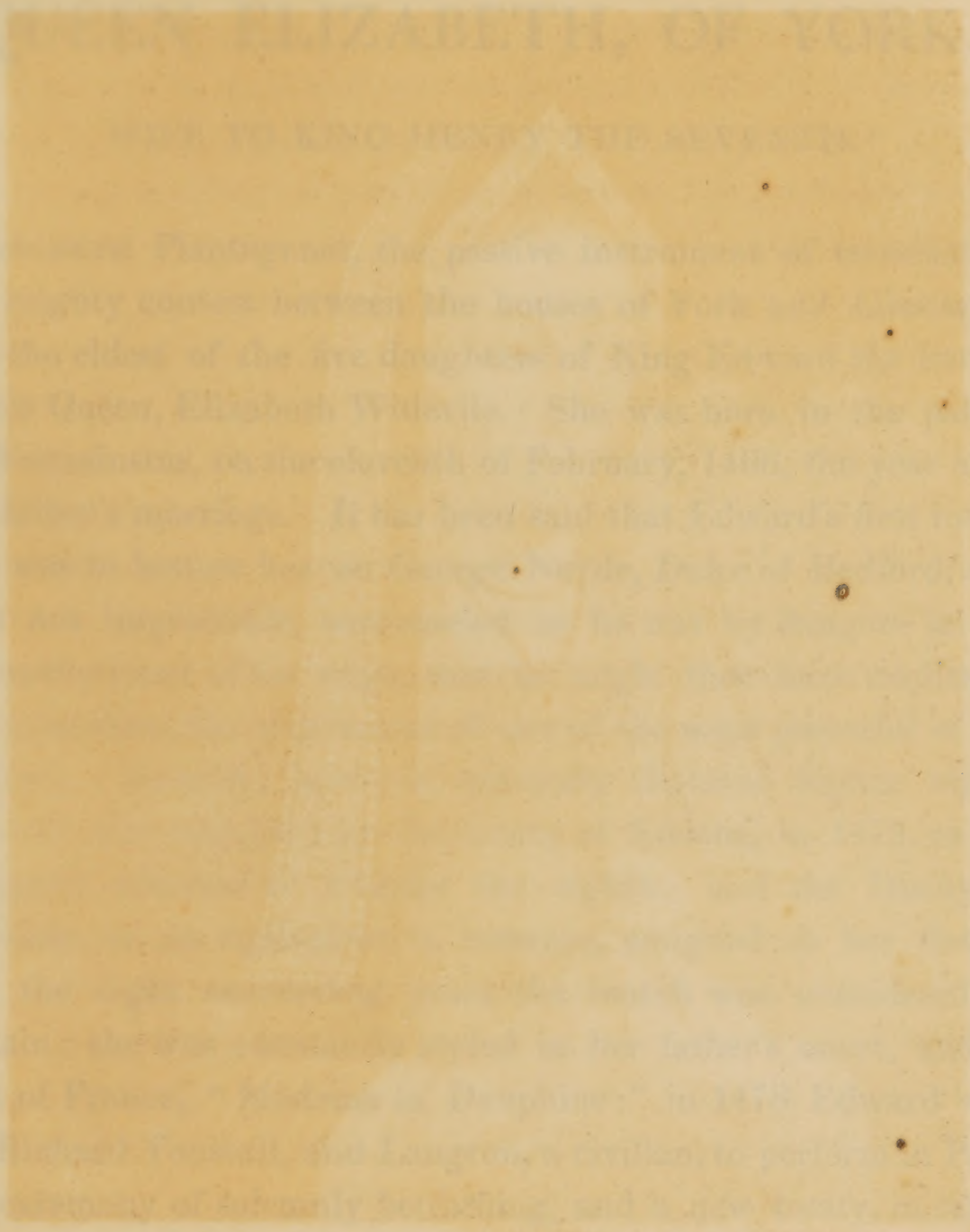


QUEEN ELIZABETH, OF YORK,

WIFE TO KING HENRY THE SEVENTH.

Elizabeth Plantagenet, the passive instrument of terminating the mighty contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, was the eldest of the five daughters of King Edward the fourth, by his Queen, Elizabeth Widevile. She was born in the palace of Westminster, on the eleventh of February, 1466, the year after her father's marriage. It has been said that Edward's first intention was to bestow her on George Nevile, Duke of Bedford, and it is not improbable, surrounded as he was by dangers in the commencement of his reign, that he might then have meditated so to purchase the attachment of one of the most powerful of his subjects. Security, however, naturally dictated higher views, and she was engaged, by the treaty of Amiens, in 1475, to the Dauphin, afterwards Charles the eighth; and the Duchy of Guienne, or an equivalent in treasure, assigned as her dower. For the eight succeeding years the match was considered as certain: she was constantly styled in her father's court, and in that of France, "Madame la Dauphine:" in 1478 Edward sent Sir Richard Tonstall, and Langton, a civilian, to perform in Paris the ceremony of solemnly betrothing, and a new treaty, in terms more strict and wary than the former, was soon after signed. Louis the eleventh, however, the most faithless as well as the most acute politician of his time, having cultivated as long as was necessary to his great objects the amity of England by these repeated assurances, in 1483 suddenly threw of the mask, and married his son to the heiress of Burgundy; and Edward, in the midst of mighty warlike preparations to avenge himself of the affront, was taken off by death.

The widowed Queen, and her offspring, became now the most wretched family of the realm. Elizabeth, who had reached the age of sixteen, fled with her mother from the persecution of her uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard the third, to sanctuary at Westminster, and remained in that miserable security while the tyrant imbrued his hands in the blood of her brothers, and of her maternal relations, and seized the crown. In the mean time, Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, whose power and policy had mainly contributed to raise him to it, became suddenly, from causes which have been differently represented by historians, his bitter enemy, and conspired with Morton, Bishop of Ely, and afterwards Primate, to place Henry, Earl of Richmond on the throne. In order to fortify his title and personal interest, as well as to unite the two great parties from whose contention such miseries had already ensued, they agreed, in the first place, to propose to Margaret Countess of Richmond, his mother, and to the Queen Dowager, that he should marry the Princess Elizabeth. The negotiation was full of difficulty and danger. Sir Reginald Bray, a friend of Morton's, and a servant to the Countess, was commissioned to open it to his mistress, who joyfully engaged in it, and dispatched Lewis, her physician, to lay it before the Queen, then in her voluntary imprisonment. The Queen returned for answer, says Hollinshed, "that all King Edward's friends and dependants should join with her for the Earl of Richmond, on condition that he took his corporal oath to marry the Lady Elizabeth, her eldest daughter; or, in case she were not living, the Lady Cecilia, her youngest daughter;" and sent her chaplain, Christopher Urswick, to make the overture in her name to Richmond, then in Bretagne, to whom Morton had already presented himself, on the part of Buckingham; meanwhile Bray, and a few other confidential men, were busily employed at home in forming a party of persons of rank and influence, taking from each an oath of fidelity and secrecy. Richmond readily agreed to every part of the plan; disclosed it to the Duke of

Bretagne, from whom he received a promise of money and troops to support his landing in England; and, on Christmas day, 1483, swore solemnly, in the cathedral of Rennes, to abide by the terms proposed by the Queen Dowager.

A design of such extent and magnitude could not long have escaped the penetration of Richard. He peremptorily summoned Buckingham to his presence, who, conscious that he had now no choice between death on the scaffold and the chance of war, suddenly appeared in arms; was abandoned by his men; betrayed by an old servant; and beheaded at Salisbury. The Earl of Richmond was attainted, and, narrowly escaping from the treachery of the favourite minister of the Duke of Bretagne, who had been bribed by Richard to deliver him up, fled to the court of France, and was received with coolness. Richard, flushed with these successes, and knowing that the hopes of the adverse party were founded chiefly on the marriage, conceived the extravagant design of offering his own hand, though he had already a wife, to his niece the Princess Elizabeth. The Queen Dowager, whose unpardonable conduct at that period is spoken of more at large in another part of this work, was prevailed on by that marvellous address of which he was so eminent a master, to quit her sanctuary; to put that Princess, and her four sisters, into his hands; and to use all her endeavours to attach to his interest those whom she had so lately persuaded to espouse the cause of Henry. While these strange circumstances were passing Richard's Queen died, at a moment so convenient to his plan as to render it ridiculous to speak of suspicion of foul play, and he now made his addresses publicly to Elizabeth, who rejected them with the abhorrence which might naturally be expected. Buck, a good antiquary, but a wretched historian, who, for the sake of contradicting Sir Thomas More, wrote that rhapsodical life of Richard the third on which Lord Orford founded his "Historic Doubts," quotes, it is true, a letter from that Princess to the Duke of Norfolk, which he tells us was preserved in the Arundelian collection,

in which she made the most extravagant professions of her love to the usurper; but the whole context of her history, and indeed of that of her time, discredits almost the possibility of the fact. To return however to truth, Henry, having obtained some slender succours from the French Regency, took up his quarters at Rouen, for his more ready correspondence with his friends in England, and from thence, despairing now of obtaining Elizabeth, sent an offer of marriage to the sister of Sir Walter Herbert, a man of princely wealth and power in Wales, through whose means he hoped to secure the support of that country. Fortunately for him, his agent found it impossible to reach the place of his destination, for, had that treaty succeeded, the whole of those Yorkists who had promised him their support would have abandoned his cause. The Welsh, however, were already nearly unanimous in his favour, and his news from England scarcely less encouraging. He sailed from the coast of France in August, 1485, and landed at Haverfordwest; and Richard, whom this critical state of affairs had obliged to suspend his suit to Elizabeth, advanced to meet his rival, and was slain in Bosworth Field.

The Princess was at that time confined in the castle of Sheriff Hutton, in Yorkshire. She was invited to repair to London with all speed, and Henry, while she was on her journey, renewed to his Privy Council his promise to marry her. He had secretly determined, however, to defer the consummation till after his coronation, from a jealous apprehension that some inference of a participation of title with his Queen might be drawn from the fact of their being crowned together, and still more from a hope that the Parliament might be prevailed on previously to settle, as indeed it did, the crown on himself solely. At length, on the eighteenth of January, 1486, the marriage was solemnized with uncommon pomp, and celebrated by the whole people of the realm with a joy scarcely ever paralleled on any similar occasion; but the coronation of the Queen was unaccountably

deferred till the twenty-fifth of November, 1488, to the great disgust of the friends to her family, whom indeed Henry held in a degree of hatred which the coldness and cunning of his nature was insufficient to enable him wholly to dissemble.

Elizabeth's history, as connected with public affairs, closes with her marriage; and the rudeness, the ignorance, or the fears, of those who have written of the royal persons of her time have left the circumstances of her domestic life almost wholly unrevealed. Lord Bacon tells us that the King, "all his life time, shewed himself no indulgent husband towards her, though she was beautiful, gentle, and fruitful; but that his aversion towards the house of York was so predominant in him as it found place not only in his wars and councils, but in his chamber and bed." If she loved her mother with that genuine filial tenderness, which is always heightened by participation in calamity, she could not possibly have cherished much affection for her husband, who persecuted the Queen Dowager till her death with a severity far beyond the measure even of the offence which she has been here stated to have offered to him. One of the first acts of his reign was to seize all her estates, and personal property, and to imprison her for her life, without any legal proceeding, in the monastery of Bermondsey.

Queen Elizabeth of York died in childbirth, in the Tower of London, on her birth-day, the eleventh of February, 1502, and was buried in Westminster Abbey; having borne to Henry three sons, and four daughters, in the following order: Arthur, Prince of Wales, who died of a consumption, at Ludlow Castle, on the second of April, 1502, in the sixteenth year of his age; Henry, who succeeded to his father's crown; Edmund, created Duke of Somerset, who died at Hatfield, in Hertfordshire, about one year after his birth; Margaret, married first to James the fourth, King of Scotland, and secondly to Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus; Elizabeth, who died at Eltham, on the fourteenth of

September, 1495, between the third and fourth years of her age; Mary, wife of Louis the twelfth, King of France, afterwards married to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk; and Catherine, the infant who caused her mother's death, and scarcely survived her.

Engraved by E. Finden.

THOMAS STANLEY, EARL OF DERBY.

OB. 1504.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF DERBY.

London, Published Apr. 1. 1831. by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

THOMAS STANLEY,

FIRST EARL OF DERBY,

Of a family always as much distinguished for public and private worth as by the antiquity of its dignities, and the extent of its domains, was the eldest son of Thomas first Lord Stanley, and Knight of the Garter, by Joan, daughter and heir of Sir Robert Gousill. His ancestors for three generations had held eminent offices in the State and Court under the three Monarchs of the House of Lancaster, the last of whom, Henry the sixth, his father served for many years in the arduous station of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; in negotiating several treaties with Scotland; and, finally, in the post of Lord Chamberlain of the royal household. The storm however in which that dynasty and so many of its friends perished passed favourably over him, and his heir, the subject of this memoir, on whom no mark of royal favour seems to have fallen in the preceding reign, was on the 24th of May, in the first year of Edward the fourth, 1461, summoned to Parliament by the title of Baron Stanley, having previously succeeded to the great estates of his father, who died in 1459.

We seek in vain in the history of those times for the chain of anecdote which at once enlivens, elucidates, and connects, the biography of milder and later days. It is however scarcely to be doubted that the marriage of Lord Stanley, which occurred about this period, with a daughter of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, whose brother, the celebrated Warwick, had placed Edward the fourth on the Throne, introduced him to the favour of that Prince. Warwick, the versitality of whose loyalty is so conspicuous in the story of that reign, embraced soon after the fallen fortunes of the House of Lancaster; importuned Lord

Stanley to join him in arms against Edward; and received a firm denial. He was now appointed Steward of the royal household, and in 1474 attended the King in his warlike expedition into France, for the aid of which he levied from his estates, and equipped, forty horse, and three hundred archers. In this enterprise little seems to have occurred worthy of note, but it may be presumed that proof was not wanting of his military talents, since in the invasion of Scotland by Richard Duke of Gloucester, in 1482 the command of the right wing of the army, amounting to four thousand men, was intrusted to his charge, at the head of which force he carried Berwick by assault, and performed several other signal services. During his absence the King died, and Richard returned to assume the supreme government, under the title of Protector.

It was nearly at this period that Lord Stanley, who had become for the second time a widower, married Margaret of Lancaster, mother of Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, a match in which, considering subsequent events, it is difficult to conceive that political views had not some considerable share. There was, it is true, no material disparity in the age or rank of the parties, but the Countess, who was distinguished for a rigour of devout practice uncommon even in those times, had made a vow, previously to this her third marriage, never to admit another husband to her bed, and Stanley had subscribed to the condition. Richard however shewed no inclination to prevent their union, and indeed Stanley seemed daily to rise in his favour. He was appointed in the following year, with Lord Hastings, to superintend chiefly the preparations for the young Edward's coronation, and was so employed when that remarkable scene which ended in the arrest and death of the latter nobleman occurred at the Council Table in the Tower. Stanley received a severe wound in the head, which it can scarcely be supposed was accidental, from the poll axe of one of the soldiers introduced by Richard on that occasion, was taken into custody on the spot, and committed, with some other Privy Counsellors, to close confinement.

Amidst the doubts and obscurities which cloud the history of this period, it is pretty clear that Lord Stanley and the rest were convinced of Richard's designs on the Crown, and were preparing to counteract them, probably without having at that time concerted the means. He was in fact suddenly placed on the Throne, by a sort of popular election, within a month after, when Stanley was not only unexpectedly liberated, and replaced in his office of Steward of the Household, which had been vacated by the death of Edward the fourth, but raised to the exalted dignity of High Constable of England, and invested with the Garter. The Countess his wife too was appointed to bear, as she did, the train of Richard's Queen at her coronation. These splendid instances of the tyrant's complaisance were dictated by fear. Stanley's eldest son, Lord Strange, a title which he had derived from his marriage with the heiress to that Barony, was then strongly suspected to be taking measures on his estates in Lincolnshire to oppose Richard by force of arms, and the usurper hoped by these favours to his father to reclaim him, and to win the family to his interest. His authority however was presently threatened in other quarters of the country, when a stupendous event occurred which for a time disconcerted all the plans of his opponents. The sons of Edward the fourth suddenly disappeared, and were reported to have died. The declarations of history on this singular subject, and the doubts which have been cast on them, are equally well known.

To the difficulties likely to impede the expulsion of Richard was now added that of determining on a successor to the throne, and this was solved chiefly by the advice and intrigues of Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, who had largely aided in raising him to it. This great nobleman, who had suddenly become Richard's implacable enemy, suggested to the widow of Edward the fourth, and to the Countess of Richmond, that marriage between the son of the one and the daughter of the other, which has been poetically called " the union of the roses," and proposed

that Henry Earl of Richmond, having previously sworn to solemnize such marriage, should be saluted King of England. This plan, which cost Buckingham his head, was eagerly adopted by all the parties, and Richard, on the first intelligence of it, compelled Lord Stanley to confine the Countess, and discharge all her attendants, and to deliver Lord Strange into his hands, as an hostage for his father's fidelity. While these matters were passing, Richmond, who was in France, prepared for the great enterprise which had been devised for him, and at length landed in Wales, in the month of August, 1485, accompanied by a few Englishmen of distinction who had fled from the tyranny of Richard, and by a small French military force.

While Henry marched, with occasional reinforcements, into the heart of the island without opposition, Lord Stanley, and his next brother, Sir William, embodied and equipped their dependants, to the number of five thousand men, and conducted them to the neighbourhood of Lichfield, always however retiring as Richmond advanced, and concealing with such address their real intention, that even himself, who had for many weeks been engaged in the most confidential communication with them, began to suspect their attachment. Richard too, equally doubtful, but sufficiently employed in preparing for defence, set out to meet his antagonist without questioning them on the motive for their rising. Stanley at length discovered himself to Richmond, whom he met privately at a village near Tamworth, called Atherston, where, says Hollingshed's Chronicle, " in a little field, they consulted how they should give the tyrant battle to the best advantage." They separated unobserved, and Richard, who had advanced to the town of Leicester, having encamped his army on a hill in the neighbouring parish of Bosworth, made his dispositions for the celebrated action which ensued on the following morning.

The armies advanced towards each other, but Stanley, with his force, still stood aloof in dreadful hesitation, as it should seem,

between his affection to the life of his son, who was a prisoner in Richard's camp, and his regard to his honour, pledged to Richmond. Richard in that instant dispatched a messenger to him, saying that " he had sworn by God's death to cut off Strange's head if Stanley did not instantly join him." The struggle was short. The noble Stanley, with Roman spirit, answered, that " he had more sons, and could not promise to come to him at that time," and instantly rushed into the battle for Richmond. " The tyrant," to use the words of the Chronicle lately quoted, " as he had sworn to do, ordered the Lord Strange to be beheaded at the instant when the two armies were to engage; but some of his council, abhorring that the innocent young gentleman should suffer for his father's offence, told the usurper ' now was a time to fight, and not to execute ;' advising him to keep him prisoner till the battle was over. The tyrant hearkened to their advice, and commanded the keepers of his tents to take him into custody till he returned from the combat. By this means the Lord Strange escaped the King's revenge, equally bloody and unjust. The keepers of the tents delivered him to his father, the Lord Stanley, after the fight, and for saving him were taken into the new King's favour, and preferred." After the victory, Stanley, or, as some have said, his brother, Sir William, placed on Richmond's head a crown which Richard had worn on his helmet in the battle, (absurdly supposed by some writers to have been the royal diadem, but properly described by Lord Verulam as " a crown of ornament,") and proclaimed him King, by the title of Henry the seventh.

Lord Stanley's expectations of reward for his signal services seem to have been moderate, and the proofs of Henry's gratitude were certainly not abundant. On the twenty-seventh of October, 1485, he was created Earl of Derby; on the thirtieth of the same month was nominated a commissioner for executing the duties of Lord High Steward at the coronation; and on the fifth of the following March was again appointed Constable of England for

his life. On the occasion of the baptism of Prince Arthur he was complimented with the office of godfather, and in 1496 was employed in the treaties of peace concluded in that year with the Archduke of Austria, and the King of France. He died, as appears by the probate of his will, in 1504, and was buried in the north aisle of the priory church of Burscough, near Latham, in Lancashire, a foundation which owed its origin to his ancestors. He married, first, Eleanor, daughter of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury; secondly, as has been already observed, Margaret, mother to King Henry the seventh; but left issue only by his first lady, who brought him six sons and four daughters. Of the sons, Thomas and Richard, the two elder, and William, the fourth, died in infancy; George, the third son, succeeded to the titles and estates; Edward was advanced by Henry the seventh to the Barony of Monteagle; and James, the youngest, was a priest, and died Bishop of Ely. The daughters were Jane, Catherine, and Anne, who died young and unmarried; and Margaret, who became the wife of Sir John Osbaldeston, of Osbaldeston, in Lancashire.

Engraved by W. H. Mote.

MARGARET OF LANCASTER,

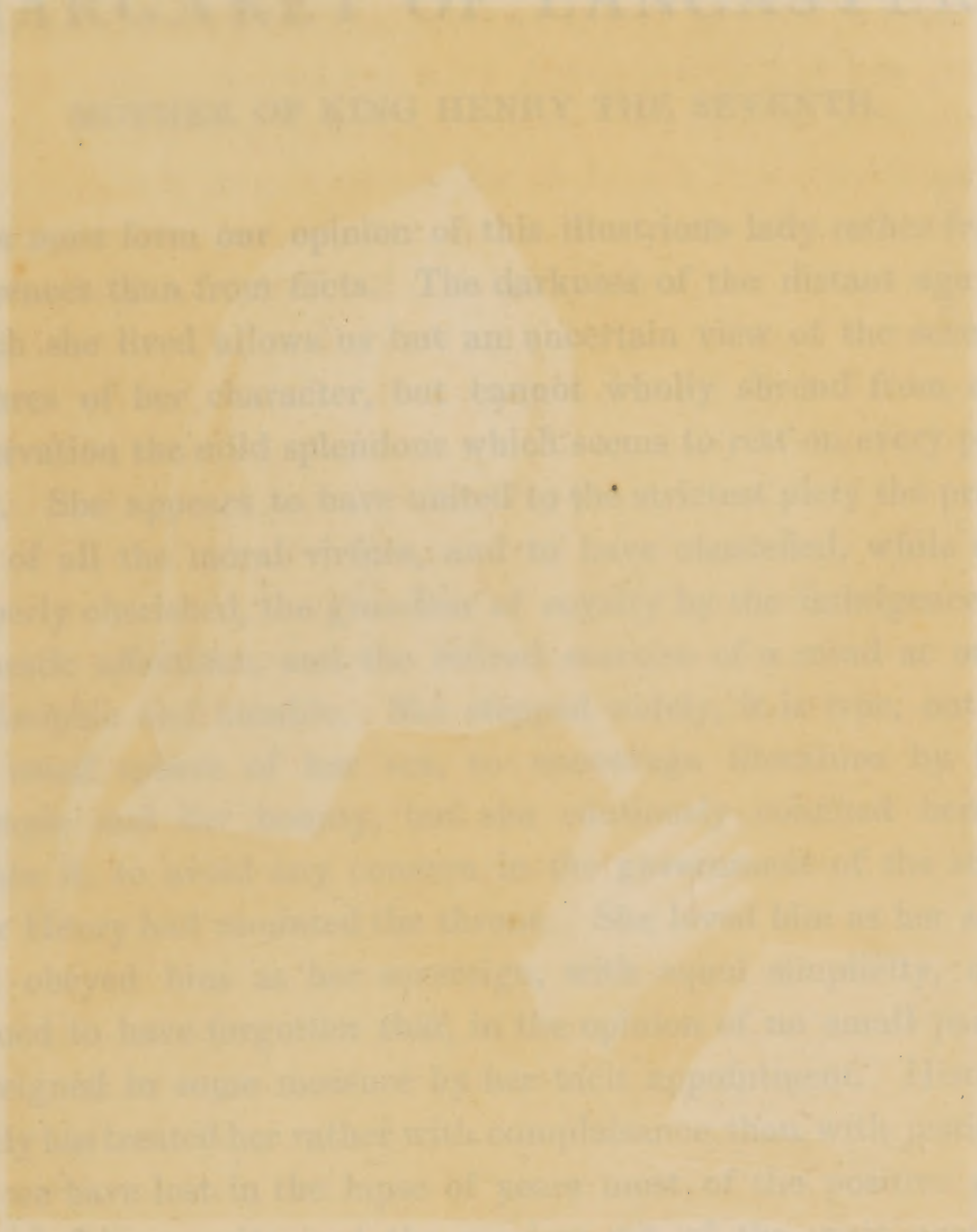
MOTHER OF HENRY VII.

OB. 1509.

FROM THE COLLECTION OF

THE Rt HONBLE THE EARL OF DERBY.

London, Published May 1, 1834, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



MARGARET OF LANCASTER,

MOTHER OF KING HENRY THE SEVENTH.

We must form our opinion of this illustrious lady rather from inferences than from facts. The darkness of the distant age in which she lived allows us but an uncertain view of the several features of her character, but cannot wholly shroud from our observation the mild splendour which seems to rest on every part of it. She appears to have united to the strictest piety the practice of all the moral virtues, and to have chastened, while she properly cherished, the grandeur of royalty by the indulgence of domestic affections, and the retired exercise of a mind at once philosophic and humble. She stepped widely, it is true, out of the usual sphere of her sex, to encourage literature by her example and her bounty, but she cautiously confined herself within it, to avoid any concern in the government of the state after Henry had mounted the throne. She loved him as her son, and obeyed him as her sovereign, with equal simplicity, and seemed to have forgotten that, in the opinion of no small party, he reigned in some measure by her tacit appointment. History surely has treated her rather with complaisance than with justice; but we have lost in the lapse of years most of the positive evidence of her merits, and the careless wit of the most accomplished and popular recorder of biographical anecdotes that our day has produced, has yet further depreciated those merits by wanton and misplaced ridicule.

Henry, however, derived from her a most imperfect title, if any, to the throne. She was the only child of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, by Margaret, daughter and heir of John, Lord Beauchamp of Powyke, and widow of Sir John St. John. Her

father was second born son, but at length heir, of John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, who was eldest son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, by his third Duchess, Catherine Swynford: but the children of John of Gaunt by that Lady were born before marriage, and had been invested, by a royal charter, confirmed by Parliament, with all the rights of legitimacy, save the inheritance of the Crown, with regard to which that charter is wholly silent. Her first marriage too, the sole issue of which was Henry, though it had in it yet more of royalty than her birth, was totally out of the line of that inheritance; for her husband, Edmund of Hadham, Earl of Richmond, though better known by the general description of brother to Henry the sixth, was in fact but the son of that Prince's mother, Catherine, daughter of Charles the sixth, King of France, by her second husband, Owen Tudor, a private gentleman of Wales. Such, however, in that rude age were the ignorance or the contempt of law, and the rage of party, that the Lancastrians were inclined to assert Henry's right under the mere authority of these shadows of descent, and were cooled and dissuaded by the prudence of his mother. She remained in retirement, affecting a perfect unconcern as to public affairs, and such good-will and submission to Richard the third, that she came to London purposely to hold up the train of his Queen at their coronation. She besought him, with seeming frankness and simplicity, to receive her son into his presence and favour, and to permit him to offer his hand to one of the Princesses, daughters of Edward the fourth. Meanwhile she treated secretly with the Duke of Buckingham, who, from Richard's great friend, had become his bitterest enemy, and with the Queen Dowager, for that marriage, and settled with them many of the preliminary steps to the great event which succeeded. These negotiations, however, which were conducted chiefly by Morton, Bishop of Ely, were not long unknown to Richard. Henry, with his followers, were attainted, and Margaret, with a lenity which could have arisen only from fear, was confined to the house of her then

husband, the Lord Stanley, and released by the final overthrow of Richard.

The exaltation of her son to the throne seems to have been the signal for her retreat from all public concerns; but she did not abandon the Court. We find her constantly a party in all the splendid feasts and ceremonies of Henry's reign which have been recorded; a fact which clearly contradicts those who have reported that her piety was of the gloomy and ascetic cast. That she was sincere and regular in devotion has been abundantly proved, and penance was one of the duties enjoined by her church. She practised it therefore with severity, even to the use of inner garments and girdles of hair cloth; but when the performance of her task permitted, she could throw them off, and, with a cheerful heart, enjoy, as well as acknowledge, the blessings which had been lavished on her. The nature and character indeed of her numerous and splendid public foundations tend to acquit her of any suspicion of blind and superstitious bigotry, for they were rather dedicated to learning and charity than to religion; and we need no better proof of her affection to those institutions than the personal attention which she bestowed on their progress. St. John's and Christ's Colleges, in Cambridge, were erected and endowed at her sole charge. She founded a perpetual divinity lecture in that University, and another in that of Oxford, where she constantly maintained also a great number of poor scholars, under tutors appointed and paid by herself; an alms-house near Westminster Abbey, for poor women, and a free-school at Wimbourn, in Dorsetshire. Her constant counsellor in these, and indeed in all her designs and actions, was her chaplain and confessor, the wise, learned, pious, and candid, John Fisher, for whom, in the year 1504, she obtained the See of Rochester. The following character of her, extracted from the oration delivered by that Prelate at her funeral, the second period in which so evidently glances at the ruling fault in her son's disposition, has an air of such simple fidelity, and asserts so

many facts which must have been then of public notoriety, that we can scarcely doubt its truth, especially if we consider with it the reputation of him by whom it was pronounced.

"She was bounteous and lyberal to every person of her knowledge or acquaintance. Avarice and covetyse she most hated, and sorowed it full moche in all persons, but specially in ony that belonged unto her. She was of syngular easyness to be spoken unto, and full curtayse answere she would make to all that came unto her. Of marvayllous gentyleness she was unto all folks, but specially unto her owne, whom she trustede, and loved ryghte tenderly. Unkynde she woulde not be unto no creature, ne forgetful of ony kyndeness or servyce done to her before, which is no lytel part of veray nobleness. She was not vengeable ne cruell, but redy anone to forgete and to forgyve injuryes done unto her, at the least desyre or mocyon made unto her for the same. Mercyfull also and pyteous she was unto such as was grevyed and wrongfully troubled, and to them that were in poverty and sekeness, or any other mysery. She was of a singular wisedom, ferre passyng the comyn rate of women. She was good in remembraunce, and of holdynge memory; a redye witte she had also to conceive all thyngs, albeit they were ryghte derke. Righte studious she was in bokes, which she had in greate number, both in Englysh, and in Latin, and in Frenshe; and, for her exercise, and for the profyte of others, she did translate divers matters of devocyon out of the Frenshe into Englyshe. In favour, in words, in gesture, in every demeanour of herself, so grete nobleness did appear, that what she spake or dyd it mervayllousley became her. She had in a manner all that was praysable in a woman, either in soul or body."

The translations here spoken of by Fisher, at least such of them as are now known, were "The Mirror of Gold for the sinful Soul," from a French translation of a book in Latin, intitled "Speculum aureum Peccatorum;" and the fourth book of Gerson's treatise of the Imitation of Christ, also from a

French version of the Latin original. A detailed account of these infinitely rare pieces, which are among the earliest essays of English printing, may be found in Ballard's Memoirs of Learned Ladies.

In treating of one with regard to whom we possess so few evidences nothing that has been proved ought to be omitted. I doubt, however, whether any apology may be necessary for the insertion of a letter from Margaret to the King, her son, from Dr. Howard's Collection of Papers, though the matters to which it relates are of a private, and indeed insignificant, nature; for the marks which it exhibits of a mind at once prudent and active, of a kind heart, and particularly of parental fondness, render it highly interesting. It is, perhaps, too, the most polished specimen extant of the epistolary style of her time. I have taken the liberty only to modernize the obsolete orthography, which, in the original, would render the whole nearly unintelligible to most readers.

" My dearest, and only desired joy in this world,

" With my most hearty loving blessings, and humble commendations, I pray our Lord to reward, and thank your Grace, for that it hath pleased your Highness so kindly and lovingly to be content to write your letters of thanks to the French King for my great matter, that so long hath been in suit, as Master Welby hath shewed me your bounteous goodness is pleased. I wish, my dear heart, if my fortune be to recover it, I trust you shall well perceive I shall deal towards you as a kind loving mother; and, if I should never have it, yet your kind dealing is to me a thousand times more than all that good I can recover, if all the French King's might be mine withal. My dear heart, if it may please your Highness to licence Master Whytstongs for this time to present your honourable letters, and begin the process of my cause, for that he so well knoweth the matter, and also brought me the writings from the said French King, with his other letters to his Parliament at Paris, it should be greatly to my help, as I

think; but all will I remit to your pleasure; and, if I be too bold in this, or any of my desires, I humbly beseech your Grace of pardon, and that your Highness take no displeasure.

" My good King, I have now sent a servant of mine into Kendall, to receive such annuities as be yet hanging upon the account of Sir William Wall, my Lord's chaplain, whom I have clearly discharged; and, if it will please your Majesty's own heart, at your leisure, to send me a letter, and command me that I suffer none of my tenants be retained with no man, but that they be kept for my Lord of York, your fair sweet son, for whom they be most meet, it shall be a good excuse for me to my Lord and husband; and then I may well, and without displeasure, cause them all to be sworn, the which shall not after be long undone. And, where your Grace shewed your pleasure for ..... the bastard of King Edward's; Sir, there is neither that, or any other thing I may do by your commandment, but I shall be glad to fulfil to my little power, with God's grace. And, my sweet King, Fielding, this bearer, hath prayed me to beseech you to be his good Lord in a matter he sueth for to the Bishop of Ely (now, as we hear, elect) for a little office nigh to London. Verily, my King, he is a good and well ruled gentleman, and full truly hath served you, well accompanied, as well at your first as all other occasions; and that causeth us to be the more bold, and gladder also, to speak for him; howbeit my Lord Marquis hath been very low to him in times past, because he would not be retained with him; and truely, my good King, he helpeth me right well in such matters as I have business within these parts. And, my dear heart, I now beseech you of pardon of my long and tedious writing, and pray Almighty God to give you as long, good, and prosperous life as ever had Prince, and as hearty blessings as I can ask of God. At Calais Town, this day of St. Anne, that I did bring into this world my good and gracious Prince, King, and only beloved son, by

Your humble servant, beadswoman, and mother,

 MARGARET R."

MARGARET OF LANCASTER.

This eminent lady was born in 1441, at Bletsho, in Bedfordshire. The splendour of her rank, and the vast fortune to which she was presumptive heir, raised many competitors for her hand. Of these Edmund de la Pole, afterwards the last Duke of Suffolk of his family, and Edmund, Earl of Richmond, of whom some account has been already given, were selected for her choice, and she determined in favour of the latter. In an age so fond of miracles, and on an occasion so important as the marriage of a royal heiress, it is not strange that her choice should have been ascribed to supernatural dictation.—"When the Lady Margaret, his mother," says Lord Bacon, at the conclusion of his life of Henry the seventh, "had divers great suitors for marriage, she dreamed one night that one in the likeness of a Bishop, in pontifical habit," (who, by the way, the good Fisher assures us was St. Nicholas) "did tender her Edmund, Earl of Richmond, the King's father, for her husband." Richmond died in 1456, little more than a year after the nuptials, leaving his highly destined heir at the age of fifteen weeks, and Margaret, not long after became the wife of Sir Henry Stafford, second son to Humphrey, the great Duke of Buckingham, by whom also she was left a widow. She was once more married, for in those unhappy days no state could be more perilous than that of wealthy widowhood; but, to prove that she sought only a protector, she took on that occasion a vow of continency, administered by Bishop Fisher, which is said to be yet extant in the archives of St. John's College in Cambridge. Her third husband was Thomas, Lord Stanley, afterwards the first earl of Derby of his name, whom she likewise survived. She died on the twenty-ninth of June, 1509, three months after the accession of her grandson, Henry the eighth, and was buried in the superb chapel then lately erected in Westminster Abbey.

Engraved by W.T. Mote.

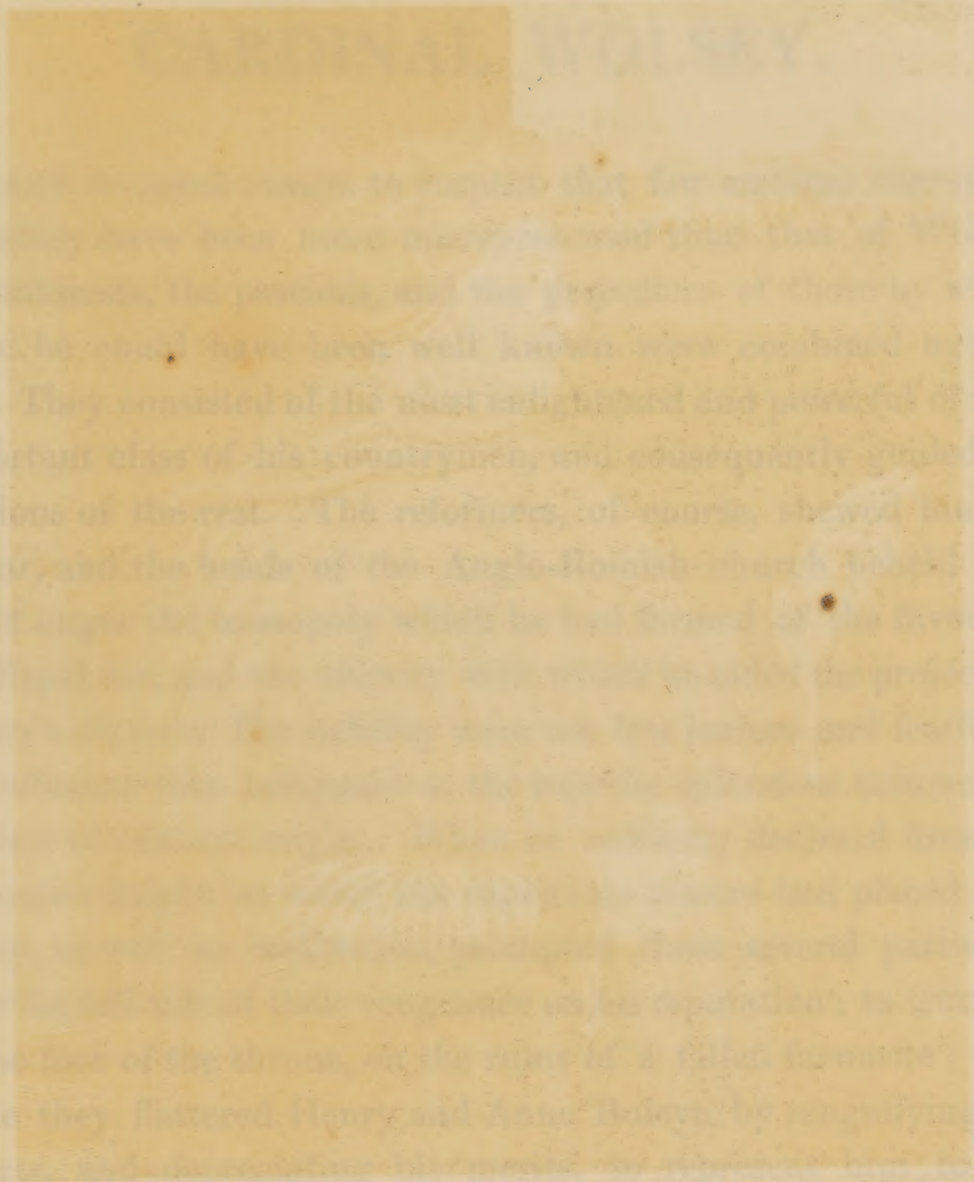
CARDINAL WOLSEY.

OB. 1530.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION AT

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

London, Published June 1, 1832, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



CARDINAL WOLSEY.

THERE is much reason to suspect that few eminent characters in history have been more misrepresented than that of Wolsey. The interests, the passions, and the prejudices of those by whom alone he could have been well known were combined against him. They consisted of the most enlightened and powerful of each important class of his countrymen, and consequently guided the opinions of the rest. The reformers, of course, shewed him no favour, and the heads of the Anglo-Romish church beheld with secret anger the monopoly which he had formed of the favour of the Papal see, and the alacrity with which he aided the project for Henry's divorce. The nobility were not less jealous and fearful of his influence than indignant at the superior splendour assumed by a priest of obscure origin. When he suddenly declined from the enormous height on which his capricious master had placed him, policy, as well as inclination, prompted these several parties to pour the full tide of their vengeance on his reputation ; to trample, at the foot of the throne, on the ruins of a fallen favourite ; and, while they flattered Henry and Anne Boleyn by magnifying his defects, and depreciating his merits, to represent him to the nation as a singular instance of the injustice with which fortune sometimes showers her choicest gifts on the unworthy. The reformation, immediately succeeding, imposed silence on such as might have been able and willing to rescue his fame from undeserved obloquy, and consigned to utter oblivion all those little interesting and lively notices which are the safest guides to a correct judgment of the human character. The malice of his enemies could not however conceal from us that he ruled absolutely the political system of England during the many years in which

Henry's credit, as a monarch and a man, remained unsullied, and that the enormities of that reign commenced as soon as his ministry had concluded; and that his magnificence was equalled by his generosity, and his love of learning by his princely endeavours to diffuse it among his countrymen; that his wisdom was eminent, and that he possessed in that rude age the accomplishments of a gentleman and a courtier in a degree perhaps peculiar to himself.

His very birth was attacked by slander. He is commonly reported to have been the son of a butcher, of Ipswich, in Suffolk; but this tale seems to be satisfactorily refuted by the will of Robert Wuley (and we have ample evidence that the Cardinal in early life so spelled his surname), dated the twenty-first of September, 1496, and recorded in the Bishop's Court at Norwich: by which he gives all his lands and tenements in the parish of St. Nicholas, in Ipswich, and his free and bond lands in the parish of Stoke, to Joan, his wife, and the residue of his possessions to her, and his son Thomas, whose destination to the clerical profession he expressly mentions. Of those persons, who evidently possessed property of no small consideration, Wolsey was undoubtedly the offspring. He was born at Ipswich, in the month of March, 1471, and became a student in the University of Oxford so young, that he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts at the age of fourteen. He was afterwards elected a fellow of Magdalen college, and appointed master of the grammar school belonging to that house, where, among his other pupils, he instructed the three sons of Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, who rewarded him by the gift of a rectory in Somersetshire, his first ecclesiastical preferment; and here we meet with another story to his prejudice, scarcely credible. Sir Amias Powlett, a neighbouring magistrate, is said to have punished him with the stocks, in his own parish, for inebriety; and we are told that he fled, overwhelmed with shame, from his cure. Can this scandalous tradition possibly be reconciled with the known fact that Deane, Archbishop of Canterbury, received him at that precise period as a domestic chaplain?

Upon the death of that Prelate, in the spring of 1504, he was retained in the same capacity by Sir John Nanfan, an ancient courtier, in some degree of favour with Henry the seventh, and at that time treasurer of Calais, and was by that gentleman presently after recommended to the King's service. He was now appointed one of the chaplains in the royal household, the treasurer of which, Sir Thomas Lovel, a wise man, and of much weight in Henry's councils and favour, presently discerned his superior merit, and distinguished him by his patronage; and he gained at the same time the esteem of Fox, Bishop of Winchester, a minister who enjoyed the King's peculiar confidence. On the recommendation of these statesmen, Henry, in 1508, sent him to Flanders, to make a personal communication to the Emperor, which he performed with such address, and within a period of time so inconceivably short, that he was received on his return, both by the King and Council, with the highest approbation. The rich Deanery of Lincoln, and other ecclesiastical preferments, were immediately bestowed on him, and these grants were among the last acts of that reign.

Doubtless he was already well known to Henry the eighth, and had probably acquired some share of that Prince's good graces before the death of the late King ; but historians in their fondness for referring all that occurs in courts to intrigue, ascribe his sudden elevation to some political circumstances of the time. The affairs of the state were then wholly directed by Thomas, Earl of Surrey, soon after Duke of Norfolk, Lord Treasurer, and the Bishop of Winchester, who held the office of Secretary of State, and the Privy Seal. Jealousies subsisted between these great men, and Fox is said to have recommended Wolsey with peculiar earnestness, in the hope that he might become the instrument of supplanting the Treasurer in the King's favour. If this report be correct, the Bishop conceived his plan in an evil hour for himself, for Wolsey presently became so completely master of Henry's opinions and affections that both Fox and his rival were forced, for their own credit, to abandon the administration of affairs which they were

no longer suffered to guide. To gain this ascendancy he had addressed himself at once to his master's wisdom and weakness; to his passions and prejudices; to his love of science and of pleasure; to his ambition for political distinction, and his earnest desire of despotic rule. Such was Wolsey's discernment, and such the versatility of his talents, that he fully succeeded in all.

Henry, who on his accession had given him the office of Almoner, admitted him soon after into the Privy Council; loaded him with benefices, among which were the Deaneries of York and Hereford; and appointed him first Register, and then Chancellor, of the Order of the Garter: but he now rose with the most unparalleled rapidity. In 1513 he was appointed Bishop of Tournay, in Flanders, and, a few months after, of Lincoln; in the autumn of the following year, he was promoted to the See of York, and succeeded Warham in the office of Lord High Chancellor; and on the seventh of September, 1515, obtained the Cardinal's hat. As the Court of Rome had now honoured him with its highest dignity, so presently after it invested him with the greatest powers it had to bestow, by a commission appointing him Legate à latere, which he received in the following year. In the mean time his revenues outstript even the measure of his preferments. He held, together with the See of York, the Bishoprick of Durham, which he afterwards exchanged for Winchester; farmed, at rents scarcely more than nominal, those of Worcester, Hereford, and Bath, which had been given by Henry the seventh to foreigners, who resided in their respective countries; and had the rich abbey of St. Albans in commendam. His presents and pensions from several princes amounted to an immense annual sum. Such compliments were common in those days, and were openly accepted by ministers of state, not as bribes to seduce them from their loyalty, but as acknowledgments of their fair and honourable protection in their respective countries of the just interests of the donors. Indeed Wolsey's bitterest enemies have never ventured to breathe a suspicion on his fidelity.

His enormous income, which has been computed to exceed that of the Crown, he expended with a magnificence which were it not the best authenticated part of his story, would seem utterly incredible. His houses, witness that yet remaining at Hampton, were palaces: and his domestic establishment was a Court, maintained with a brilliancy and order which few sovereign princes could emulate. He had eight hundred servants, of whom nine or ten were noblemen, fifteen knights, and forty esquires. He sat on a chair of state, under a canopy, and was approached with all the marks of respect paid to royalty, even to kneeling. Henry, who loved romantic splendour, and abhorred parsimony, encouraged these superb excesses, and even delighted to witness them. It has been usual to charge him with unreasonable pride; but the imputation will be found to rest only on a few instances of his jealous exaction of ceremonious deference to his ecclesiastical rank. Of that sort was his contest with the Primate Warham, on the question whether his cross should be borne before him in the diocese of Canterbury; a mere question of right and privilege. For the rest, cumbrous grandeur was the foible of the age, and in whom could it be more decorous than in him who represented the ruler of kings, and was himself the most powerful of subjects?

It is less easy to find an apology for his conduct in his character of Legate. Under the authority of that commission he persuaded Henry to allow him to erect a jurisdiction not only wholly new in the method of its constitution but assuming faculties independent of all law. It affected chiefly to enforce a just observance of religious and moral duties, particularly in cases where the means of legal correction had not been hitherto provided, and openly assumed, as well over the laity as the clergy, a right of inquisition and censure which till then had rarely been exercised even in the wild sallies of an undefined royal prerogative. He strove to invest it with a controul over the ecclesiastical courts, and to arrogate to it appeals from their judgment in testamentary cases. Warham, a priest of great humanity and mildness, at length complained to

the King of these excesses, but without effect; and Wolsey persevered till a private individual had the courage to prosecute his judge, who was convicted in a court of law of gross malversation. Henry is said now to have reprehended the Cardinal with great severity, and he prudently restrained in some respects the authority of his court, which however subsisted while he held the office of Legate. Another undue exertion of his legantine power, less important, gave much offence. By a mandate, issued under that authority, he removed the sittings of the Convocation from St. Paul's, its very ancient place of meeting, to Westminster. This innovation was suggested by his hatred of Warham, whom he seems to have constantly persecuted by a series of petty injuries and insults. It is only in his warfare with that amiable prelate that we discover any abatements of the dignity of Wolsey's mind.

A detail of his political life would necessarily include a series of historical conjectures and reasonings more extensive than the plan of this work could allow, and of his personal story the peculiar circumstances which immediately followed his death have, as has been before observed, left us little but a few important facts, too well known to justify an enlarged repetition. One step only was wanting to raise him to the summit of human ambition: he naturally aspired to the papal chair, and Henry favoured his pretensions. On the death of Leo the tenth, in 1521, he became a candidate, and, though the election had ended before the arrival of a person whom he sent to Rome to cultivate his interests there, obtained a considerable support. The prelate who succeeded, and took the name of Adrian the sixth, survived little more than two years, when Wolsey made a second effort, and again failed. A letter of great length, dispatched by him to his agents at Rome on this latter occasion, has fortunately been preserved, and has been more than once published. It will remain a lasting testimony to the force, the activity, and the elegancy of his mind; the delicacy of his feelings, and the exactness of his honour, the subtlety and minuteness with which he dissects the intrigues of the Conclave,

and the directions that he gives for steering through them without meanness or duplicity, reflect equal credit on his head and his heart; and the whole is delivered in a graceful flow of expression, to which it may not be too bold to say that no parallel can be found in the epistolary remains of his time.

Wolsey, though disappointed of the attainment of this mighty object, retained his accustomed influence in the Court of Rome. He had carried himself towards Julio de Medicis, the successful candidate, with an unusual generosity and sincerity in the affairs of the election, and the new Pontiff, from gratitude as well as interest, left no means untried for his gratification. It was about this time that the Cardinal conceived his superb plan for academical institutions at Oxford and Ipswich, and the Pope readily granted his licence for the suppression of a multitude of the smaller religious houses, and the diversion of their revenues to the erection and endowment of those colleges. Thus, according to Camden, six hundred and forty-five monasteries were dissolved. The measure excited a general murmur throughout the kingdom: the pious proclaimed it to be sacrilegious, and the poor, whose alms it curtailed, readily joined in the complaint: Henry himself, as is proved by letters from him still extant, permitted it with reluctance; but Wolsey was not to be deterred by ordinary opposition, and Oxford owes her magnificent Christ Church to his perseverance. His foundation at Ipswich, a projected school, of most extensive views, and admirable constitution, was not wholly completed at the time of his death, and presently fell to decay. It was perhaps deemed impolitic to suffer such a monument to his memory to flourish in the place of his birth.

His influence over the mind of his master seemed to increase with the years of his ministry, and the uniform prosperity which waited on his counsels gave, perhaps not altogether unjustly, a colour of wisdom in the eyes of Europe to the King's submission to his will; but he was doomed to fall a victim to Henry's passion, and his fate was interwoven with the King's sudden attachment

to Anne Boleyn. He was already beheld by that lady with aversion, for he had prevented her marriage with Lord Percy, whom she tenderly loved, and he had little room to doubt that she would exert her utmost influence with the King to his disadvantage. When he turned his view from his own danger to the frightful effects which the union of Henry to Anne could scarcely fail to produce both on the Church and the State, he foresaw the ruin of the grand scheme of policy by which he had so long and so gloriously governed both; the downfal of the ecclesiastical establishment itself; and the disgrace, both as a monarch and a man, of his master, whose reputation he had in a manner created. Convinced of Henry's earnest inclination to repudiate Catherine, but uncertain of the extent of his passion for Anne, and despairing of success in opposing both, he seems to have hoped that by a ready and humble acquiescence in the one he might possibly gain the means of counteracting the other. The warmth too with which he engaged in the prosecution of the divorce perhaps arose in some measure from a private and personal feeling, for the Emperor Charles the fifth, nephew to Catherine, had encouraged his hopes of the Popedom, and secretly undermined his interest; and it has been supposed that his conduct on this great occasion was influenced by a spirit of revenge.

The process against the Queen was commenced early in the year 1528, and Wolsey, together with another Cardinal, sent to England expressly for that purpose, were by a Bull from Rome constituted the judges. The novelty of such a jurisdiction, and the extreme delicacy, as well as importance, of the case, together with the necessity of repeated references to the Pope, and constant prevarication in his answers, so protracted the suit, that at the end of twelve months the probability of any speedy decision, which had long been gradually decreasing, seemed utterly hopeless. It was at this point of time that Wolsey began to decline in the King's favour. That eagerness for strict truth, which often overlooks obvious facts to seek it in nice enquiry, and endless conjecture

has induced historical writers to ascribe his disgrace to a variety of causes, and each has his favourite prejudice. One finds it in the vengeance of Catherine and Anne Boleyn: another in the intrigues of the Papal Court; a third in the anger of Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, with whom the Cardinal had a furious quarrel, in open Court, on the day that the Queen's cause was adjourned to Rome; and a fourth in the discovery by a courtesan of that city of a letter written by Wolsey to the Pope's Secretary in direct opposition to the divorce. After all, it is highly probable that it arose from two very simple motives in the bosom of Henry himself —brutal resentment of the delay of the sentence, in opposition to his will; and anxiety to begin the reformation, on which he had now secretly determined, and in the prosecution of which it was impossible for Wolsey to have become an instrument.

The Pope's inhibition in the autumn of 1529 of further proceedings in England in the matter of the divorce was the final signal for Wolsey's fall, which, though not unexpected, was sudden. Henry, then on a progress, commanded his attendance at Grafton in Northamptonshire. It was their last interview. The King, who received him courteously, and passed the most part of the day in frequent private conferences with him, seemed irresolute, but Anne, who was in the house, and to whom Henry at intervals repaired, is said to have turned the scale against him. He returned to London, where he learned that the Attorney-General was preparing an indictment against him, yet on the commencement of Michaelmas term he took his seat on the Chancery Bench with the accustomed solemnities. Two days after, on the eighteenth of October, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, verbally commissioned by Henry, went to his house, to demand the Great Seal, which he refusing to deliver without a more authentic command, they procured a letter to him from the King, on sight of which he resigned it. His palace of York House, which stood on the site of Whitehall, with its innumerable precious contents, were afterwards seized, under the authority of an obsolete statute which will

presently be mentioned, and he was sent to an unfurnished house at Esher, in Surrey, which belonged to his See of Winchester, where he fell into a dangerous illness. The King now again hesitated; dispatched the physicians of the Court to attend him; and sent him, as a token of regard, a ring which Wolsey had formerly presented to him. He recovered his health, and was permitted to remove to the Palace of Richmond, which he had some years before received of Henry, in exchange for Hampton Court; and here he received a present from the King of ten thousand pounds, for he was now stripped of all his private property, as well as of his dignities and offices. This favourable disposition however soon changed, and Henry, surrounded by numbers who now ventured to declare their enmity to the humbled favourite, commanded him to retire to York.

In the meantime his prosecution had been pushed on with constant vigour. The charges against him were first preferred in the Star Chamber, on the first of October, by which Court he was declared guilty of the whole; and then remitted to the Parliament, which met on the third of the following month. The Lords sent down to the House of Commons, an accusation against him, digested into forty-four articles, unproved, and mostly incapable of proof, but the Commons, even in that despotic reign, refused to lend themselves to such flagrant injustice, and it was found necessary to indict him of having procured Bulls from Rome, particularly that by which he was constituted Legate, contrary to a law of Richard the second, called "the Statute of Provisors." These alledged offences had been committed by him, and he had for many years exercised the powers that he derived from them, not only with the countenance and approbation of the King and Parliament, but under a formal permission expressly granted by Henry himself. The miserable Wolsey however durst not produce that licence; pleaded guilty to the indictment; declared his ignorance of the Statute; and threw himself on the mercy of the tyrant, who on the twelfth of February, 1530, N. S. granted him a pardon, the

peculiar plenitude of which has been more than once remarked by our most eminent lawyers.

The sequel of this tragedy is so monstrous that history, unsupported by the evidence of public records, might have striven in vain to convince after ages of its credibility. Wolsey having retired to his Archbishoprick of York, and to the possession of its revenues, which had been restored to him when he received the royal pardon; shorn of all other beams of his former grandeur, and deprived of all hope of regaining any other portion of it; was suffered to pass little more than one month in the commencement of a life of innocence, and piety, and resignation, when he was arrested by the Earl of Northumberland, at Cawood, one of the houses of his See, for high treason, grounded on the self same charges which had been so lately, and so amply remitted. The events of his few succeeding days are perhaps more generally known than any other part of our history. As his persecutors were dragging him on towards London, he died on the way, broken hearted, at the Abbey of Leicester, on the thirtieth of November, 1530.

Engraved by W.T.Mote.

WILLIAM WARHAM, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

OB.1532.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

London Published July 1.1833, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

WILLIAM WARHAM,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

This very respectable divine, who seems to have owed to a placid and humble temper, and to an innocent and candid prudence, the imperfect tranquillity with which for a long series of years he held the highest ecclesiastical station, in a time the most inauspicious to churchmen, especially of his persuasion, was the eldest son of Robert Warham, a small gentleman, or yeoman, of Hampshire, by Elizabeth, his wife, and was born at Okeley, in that county, about the year 1456. He received the education requisite to fit him for the clerical profession, which at that time included the study of the civil law, in Winchester School, and at Winchester College, in Oxford, and was in 1475 admitted fellow of New College, where he soon after took the degree of Doctor of Laws. He quitted the university, in which he had held some reputable appointments, in 1488, with a high fame for his learning, and embraced the profession of an advocate in the Arches Court, in which he practised with much distinction and success. He became therefore, soon after his arrival, well known at the Court, for Henry the seventh delighted in civilians, and thought them of all others the best qualified for the management of niceties in affairs of state, particularly in those of foreign negotiation. Warham was accordingly sent, in 1493, with Sir Edward Poynings, on an embassy to Philip Duke of Burgundy, to persuade that Prince to withdraw his protection from the impostor, Perkin Warbeck, and discharged his mission so well, that Henry, on his return, appointed him Master of the Rolls. He sat in that office for nine years; a delay of preferment which was amply compensated for by the rapidity with which he afterwards rose to the

most exalted stations in Church and State; for on the eleventh of August, 1502, the Great Seal was delivered to him, as Lord Keeper; within a few weeks after he was placed in the See of London; on the first of the following January was appointed Lord Chancellor; and, in the ensuing March, translated to the Primacy. The favour of his master was marked by the unusual circumstances of pomp and ceremony attending his installation at Canterbury, in which Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, the mightiest peer of the realm, condescended to officiate in the character of his Steward of the Household. To these high offices was added the dignity of Chancellor of that University which had lent its aid to qualify him for them, to which he was elected on the twenty-eighth of May, 1506.

His royal patron dying not long after that period, a new master succeeded, and presently Wolsey, a new planet, or rather comet, in the sphere of English politics, appeared, and soon eclipsed all competitors for favour. The mild and sober character of Warham by no means fitted him for contention with one whose vivacity and ardour in the execution of his schemes were equal to the ambition and subtlety with which they had been projected. Wolsey began by infringing on the dignified distinctions of the Primacy, one of which was, that the cross of no other prelate should be elevated in the same place with that of the Archbishop of Canterbury; Wolsey, however, would have his cross of the See of York borne before him even in the presence of Warham; and it has been said, though improbably enough, that he procured for himself from the Pope his famous commission of Legate à latere for the sake of gaining precedency in that peculiar point, to which end his station of Cardinal was insufficient. He then invaded the Primate's prerogative by erecting a court at Whitehall, for the proving of wills under his separate authority; and at length invested himself, in a great measure, through the efficacy of his Legantine power, with the government of the Anglican Church, both in spiritual and temporal affairs. Warham remon-

strated to him in vain, and at last appealed to the king, by some exertion of whose authority Wolsey's violence was somewhat curbed, and his anger against Warham proportionably provoked. Two original expostulatory letters from the Primate to the Cardinal may be found in the Cotton collection, the one complaining, at great length, of Wolsey's interference with the Archbishop's jurisdiction in a particular case, of no public importance; the other, a brief and more general representation of various injuries. This latter seems to merit insertion here, not only as a specimen of Warham's epistolary style, which was of the best of his time, but because the profoundly respectful method of expression affords so remarkable a proof of the awe in which Wolsey was held, even by an outraged Metropolitan of England.

" Please it youre good Grace to understande, I am informed that your Grace intendithe to interrupte me in the use of the prorogatives in the whiche my predecessors and I, in the right of my church of Canterbury, hathe been possessed by priviledge, custume, and prescription, tyme out of mynde; and, for the interruption of the same, your Grace is mynded, as I am informed, to depute Doctour Alan; whiche, if your Grace shulde do so (considering that not only all myne officers of my Courts th' Arches & th' Audience, but also the Commissarie of my diocesse of Kente, and I myself, not only in matiers of suite of instance of parteys, but also in causes of correction dependinge before me and them, be continually inhibited by your officers) I shulde have nothinge lefte for me and my officers to do, but shulde be as a shadoo and ymage of an Archbishop and Legate, void of auctoritie and jurisdiction, whiche shulde be to my perpetual reproche, and to my churche a perpetual prejudice. Wherefore, inasmuche as I truste verely in your great goodnes that youre Grace wool not be so extreme against me, and the right of my church beforenamed, I beseech your Grace, the premisses considered, to differ and respecte this matter tyll I may have communycation in this

behaulfe with your Grace, when it shall please youe, at youre leysure; and, youre pleasure knowne, I will be redy to give attendance on your Grace; beseching you also to give credence to my chapellaine, Maister Wellys, this berar, in suche matiers as he will shewe youre Grace on my behaulfe. At my manor at Croydon, the xvii day of Marche.

At your Gracis commandment,

Will˜m Cantuar."

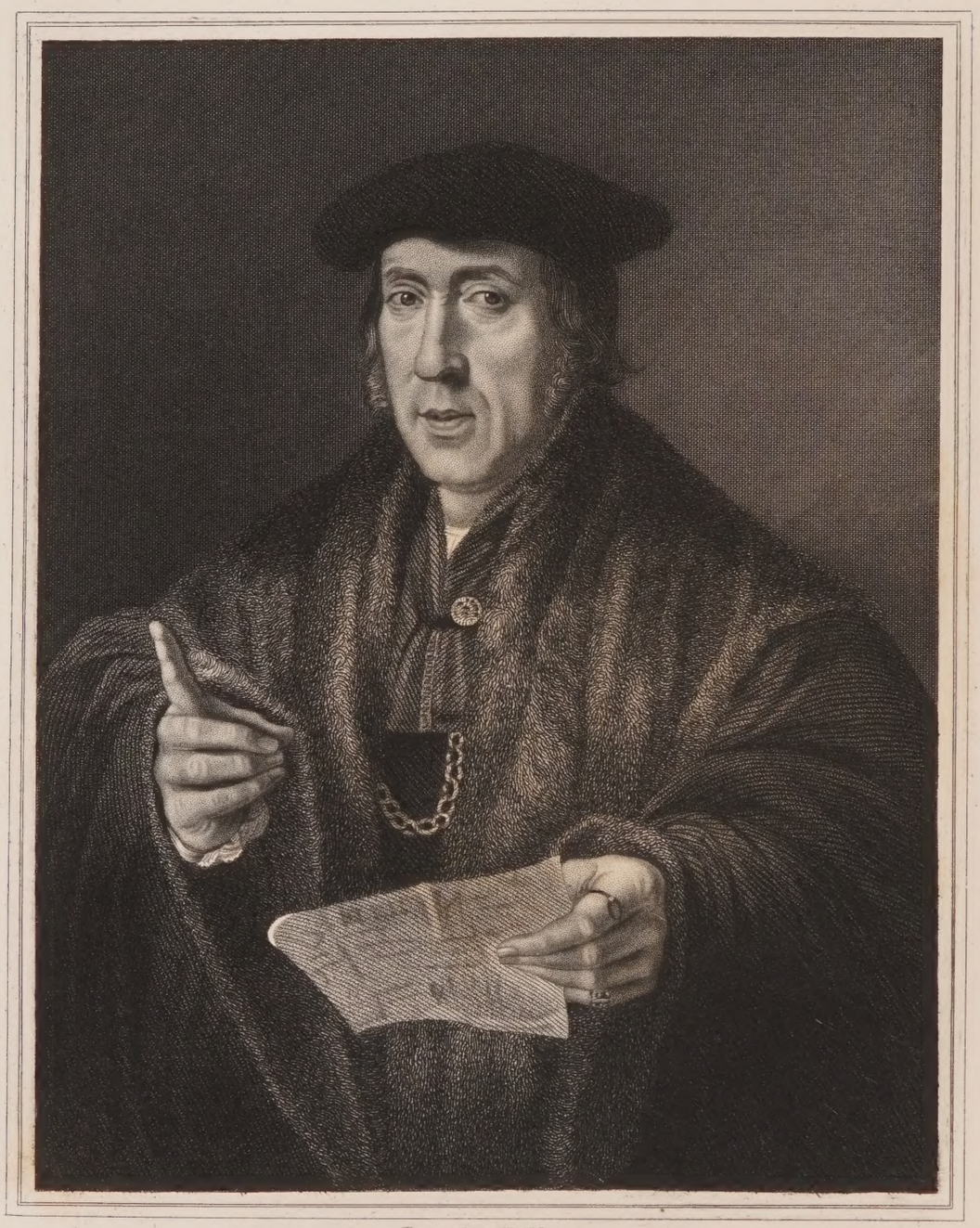
Wolsey, having perhaps abated somewhat of his persecution of Warham in ecclesiastical matters, attacked him next in his office of Chancellor. He had long been jealous of the interference of the Chancery with the authority of his Legantine Court, and his ambition readily suggested to him the most effectual remedy for the inconvenience. He became eager to possess the first lay office under the Crown, and the Archbishop, fatigued with contention, and advancing to old age, was easily prevailed on to gratify him, in the hope to purchase by this concession the quiet enjoyment for the remainder of his life of those rights, at least, of the Primacy which had no concern with matters of state. He resigned the Great Seal on the twenty-third of December, 1515, and the King immediately delivered it to the Cardinal. Warham now retired from all public business, except that of his church, and passed yet many years in his diocese, in a faithful discharge of all the duties of his high calling; in the enjoyment of private friendships, and in the cultivation and patronage of literature. He lived in the strictest intimacy with Erasmus, to whom he gave the rectory of Aldington, in Kent. They corresponded with the freedom of equals, and exchanged portraits with the affection of brothers. "Erasmus in one of his epistles," says Wood, "so commends him for humanity, learning, integrity, and piety, that in the conclusion he saith, 'nullam absoluti præsulis dotem in eo desideres.'" His liberality was unbounded, and his contempt of wealth almost blameable. He expended the immense sum of

thirty thousand pounds in repairing and adorning the different episcopal houses of his See, and left scarcely sufficient to pay his debts. When he lay on his death-bed, having occasion to enquire of his steward what money he had in his hands, and being answered only thirty pounds, he calmly replied, " satis viatici ad cœlum."

The main fault in his conduct, for which much might be pleaded in extenuation, considering the characters of the two masters whom he served, was a servile obsequiousness to their will on all occasions. When the question of the supremacy of Henry the eighth was propounded to the Convocation, and Cromwell had concluded his long argument for it, every mouth in that assembly was sealed by fear; when the Primate, after a short pause, declared that " silence was to be taken for consent," and reported the judgement of the Convocation accordingly. Bishop Burnet tells us that " his speeches in Parliament were sermons, begun with texts of Scripture, which he expounded, and applied to the business they were to go upon, stuffing them with the most fulsome flattery of the King that was possible." That historian however, in another part of his chief work, says of him, with much apparent fairness, that he was, " a great canonist, an able statesman, a dextrous courtier, and a favourer of learned men: that he always hated Cardinal Wolsey, and would never stoop to him, esteeming it below the dignity of his see: that he was not so peevishly engaged to the learning of the schools as others were, but set up and encouraged a more generous way of knowledge; yet that he was a severe persecutor of those whom he thought heretics, and inclined to believe idle and fanatical people, as appeared in the matter of the Maid of Kent." The truth is that, as the character of Archbishop Warham wanted those bold features which history so readily records, it has been hitherto but slightly touched on. As a churchman, he seems to have been pious and sincere; zealous for the persuasion in which he had been bred, and occasionally proving that zeal in instances of

intolerant severity; as a statesman, rather esteemed for honesty and experience than for acuteness: as a judge, laborious in his attention to the business of his Court, and pure in his administration of justice: as a man, mild, cheerful, affable, and benevolent. If we may not reckon him with the greatest, he may certainly be esteemed among the best, public men of the age in which he flourished. He died on the twenty-third of August, 1532, in the house of his nephew, William Warham, Archdeacon of Canterbury, at Hackington, near that city; and was buried with the most simple privacy in a small chapel, which he had built in his cathedral for that purpose.

A tradition exists, too ancient, and too respectable, to admit of reasonable doubt, that the fine picture from which the present engraving was made was presented by Holbein to the Archbishop, inclosed in the identical frame in which it yet remains.



Engraved by W. T. Mote.

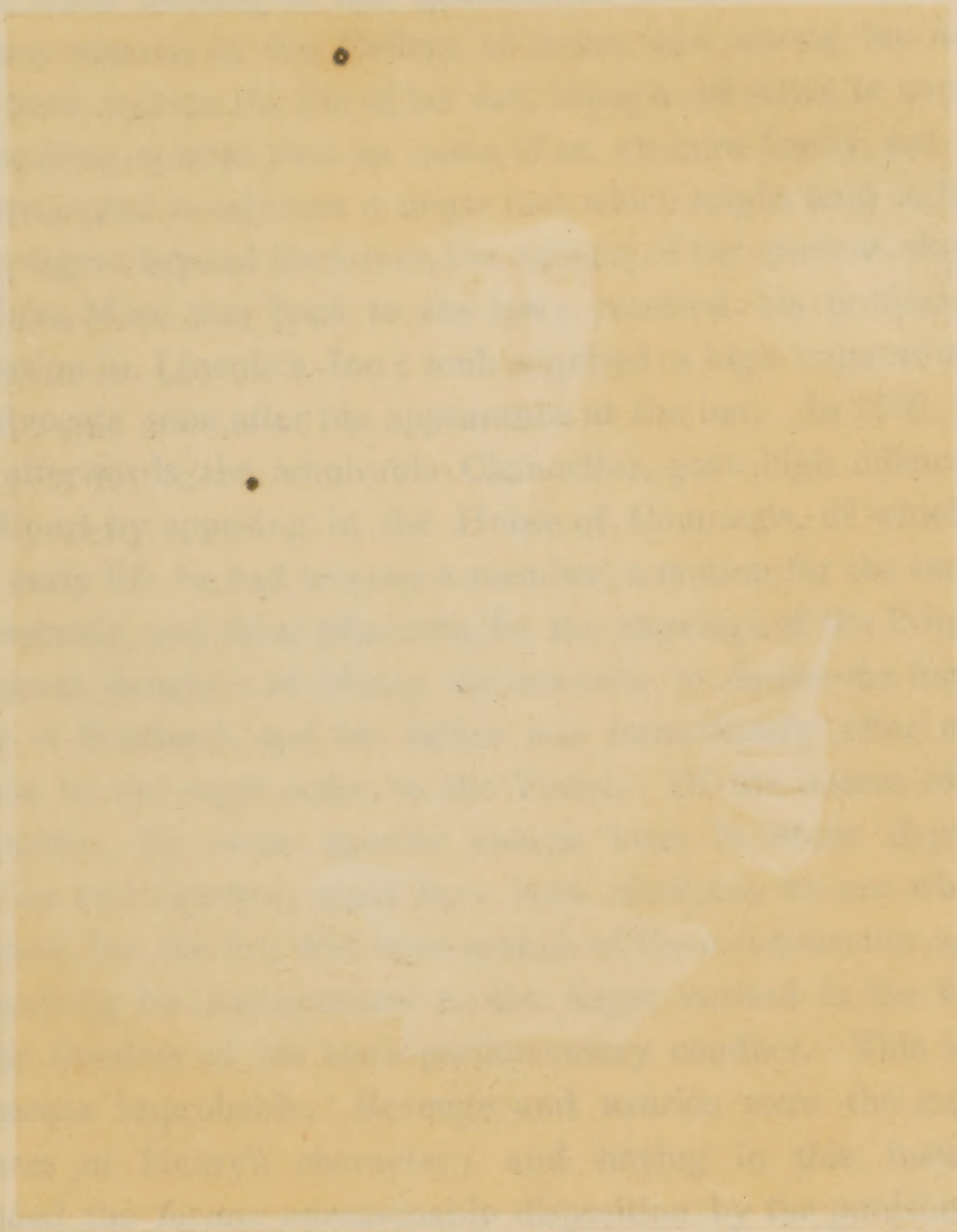
SIR JOHN MORE.

OB. 1533.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF PEMBROKE.

London, Published Nov^r 1^st 1833, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



SIR JOHN MORE.

We know nothing of this gentleman's ancestors. No record of them remains in the College of Arms, and among the many who have written the life of his son, though all strive to combat a prevailing opinion that he came of an obscure family, not one has attempted to advance a single fact which might tend to trace his pedigree beyond his father, the subject of the present sketch. Sir John More was bred to the law; received his professional education in Lincoln's Inn; and acquired a high reputation as an advocate soon after his appearance at the bar. In 1501, that son, afterwards the admirable Chancellor, gave high offence to the Court by opposing in the House of Commons, of which in very early life he had become a member, a motion for the impost of a subsidy, and three fifteenths, for the marriage of the Princess Margaret, daughter of Henry the seventh, to James the fourth, King of Scotland, and his father was immediately after committed, by the royal order, to the Tower. Of the nature of his accusation, for some specific charge even in those days of violence and injustice, must have been alledged, we are wholly ignorant, but the few who have spoken of the circumstance agree in ascribing his imprisonment to the anger excited in the King by the freedom of his son's parliamentary conduct. This is by no means improbable. Revenge and avarice were the ruling features of Henry's character; and having in this instance gratified the former unreasonable disposition by the punishment of a guiltless person, he proceeded to feed the latter by the base exaction of a fine of one hundred pounds, on the payment of which More was set at liberty, and, resuming the exercise of his profession, was called to the degree of a Serjeant in Michaelmas term, 1505. He was appointed a Judge of the King's Bench in 1518, and on that occasion received knighthood; and, as he never experienced any further promotion, it may be plausibly inferred that his abilities were of no superior cast, especially

when we recollect the great source of legal preferment which existed in his family, for he survived for many years his son's appointment to the Chancellorship. Sir Thomas, who wrote his own epitaph, describes his father in it as " Homo civilis, innocens, mitis, misericors, æquus, et integer :" it may be reasonably supposed that he would have added sapiens, if the subject had merited that epithet. We are told that he possessed much of the pleasant and jocose humour which distinguished that great and good man ; in proof of which, says the grandson and biographer of the Chancellor, " he would compare the multitude of women which are to be chosen for wives unto a bag full of snakes, having in it one eel. Now if a man should put his hand into this bag, he may chance to light on the eel, but it is a hundred to one that he shall be stung by a snake."

He was to the last degree beloved and respected by his son, whose constant practice it was, in passing through Westminster Hall in state, towards his judgment seat in the Chancery, to step for a minute into the Court of King's Bench, and kneel to his father for his blessing. From the little that has been transmitted to us respecting Sir John More, he appears to have been a worthy, humble, and prudent man. He must have amassed considerable wealth in the practice of his profession, for he purchased the manor and extensive estates of Gubbins, more properly Gobions, in the parish of North Mims, in Hertfordshire, which remained long in his posterity. He was thrice married : first, to the daughter of a Mr. Handcombe, of Holywell, in Bedfordshire, by whom he had his celebrated only son, and two daughters ; Jane, married to Richard Stafferton ; and Elizabeth, to John Rastall, father of the eminent judge of that name. Secondly, to Alice, daughter of John More of Losely, in Surrey, by whom he had no issue. His third wife is unknown. He died in 1533, at the age of ninety, of a surfeit, as it is said, occasioned by immoderate eating of grapes, and was buried in the Church of St. Laurence, in the Old Jewry.

Engraved by H.T.Ryall.

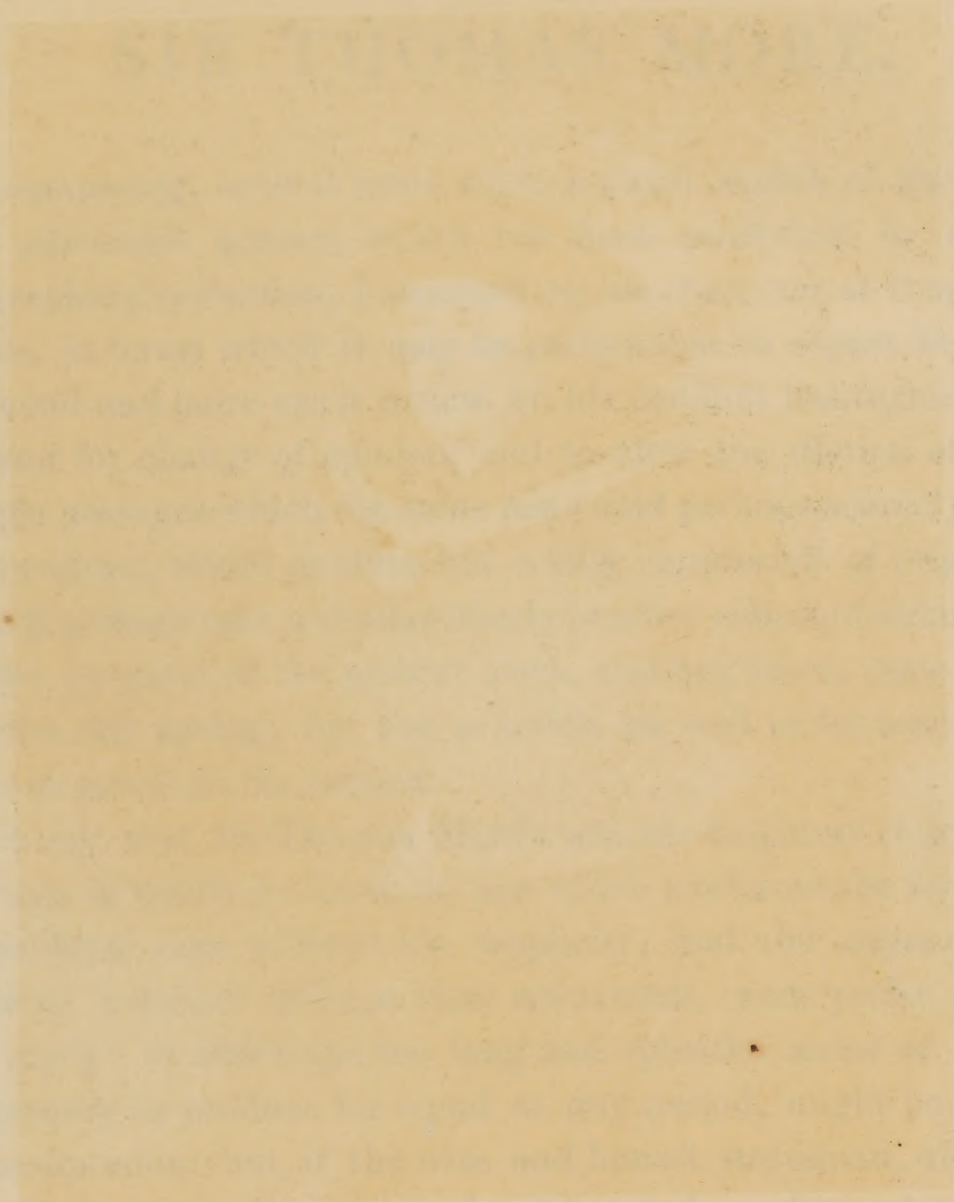
SIR THOMAS MORE.

OB. 1535.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

W. J. LENTHAL ESQRE

London, Published Febr.1 1821, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



SIR THOMAS MORE.

In composing, several years since, a small sketch of the life of this admirable person, which has been published in another biographical collection, I summed up his character as it appeared to me, in terms which it may be pardonable to repeat here; for a second and more exact review of his conduct has furnished no ground for change of opinion, and to alter the diction of a few simple passages which the same pen could perhaps scarcely otherwise express, would produce but a silly counterfeit of originality. I shall perhaps take a similar liberty in a few subsequent instances, in the progress of the present work, and beg leave, once for all, to offer this apology for the practice, as well as for having said here so much on the subject.

To say that Sir Thomas More's was the brightest character of the age in which he lived, an age which exhibited the ferocity of uncivilised man without his simplicity, and the degeneracy of modern manners without their refinement, were praise beneath his merit; to challenge the long and splendid series of English biography to produce his equal at any period, might be deemed presumptuous: but, if the wise and honest statesman, the acute and incorrupt magistrate, the loyal but independent subject, constitute an excellent public man; if the good father, the good husband, and the good master, the firm friend, the moral though witty companion, the upright neighbour, the pious christian, and the patient martyr, form a perfect private character, ecce homo.

He was born in Milk street, Cheapside, about the year 1480, the only son of Sir John More, a Judge of the King's Bench, by his wife, the daughter of a Mr. Handcombe, of Holywell, in Bedfordshire. He acquired the learned languages at the hospital

of St. Anthony, in the parish of St. Benet Fink, in London, then a school of high reputation, from whence he was removed to St. Mary Hall, or, as some have said, to Canterbury College, now Christchurch, in the University of Oxford. The primate, Cardinal Morton, in whose family he passed some of his earliest years, in the character of a gentleman attendant, according to the fashion of that time, charmed as much by his wit as by his learning, often said to the great persons at his table, "this child here waiting, whosoever shall live to see it, will prove a marvellous great man;" and the prediction soon began to be verified, for, even at the age of eighteen, the literary fame which he had acquired provoked the envy of some German critics, and the praise of others. Erasmus, at that time, wrote to him in the behalf of Brixius, one of the former class, who had attacked him in an invective intituled "Antimorus," seriously intreating his mercy to that old and experienced disputant.

Just at this period he left the university, and began to study the law in New Inn, and afterwards in Lincoln's Inn, passing his hours of leisure in a circle, of which he naturally became the centre, composed of those whose wisdom and learning could best inform, and of those the vivacity of whose genius could most delight. At the age of twenty-one, when he had barely been called to the station of an utter barrister, he was elected a member of the House of Commons, and was presently distinguished there for a freedom of conduct which, at that time, could have arisen only from the purest motives. In that spirit he opposed in 1503 the requisition of a subsidy and three-fifteenths, for the marriage of the Princess Margaret, daughter of Henry the seventh, to the King of Scots, with such force and honesty of reasoning, that the rejection of the demand is said to have been ascribed almost wholly to his endeavours. A privy counsellor ran immediately from the house, and told the King "that a beardless boy had overthrown all his purpose," and Henry satisfied at once his anger and his avarice by committing, under some

frivolous pretences, the young senator's father to the Tower, and forcing him to purchase his release by the payment of a fine of one hundred pounds. More, however, became so alarmed at the King's resentment that he retired for a considerable time from the parliament, and from his professional avocations, and during that interval, which seems to have been passed in a place of concealment, he studied geometry, astronomy, and music, in which last he much delighted, and exercised his pen in historical composition.

He returned at length to his practice at the bar, which presently became so extensive as to produce, according to his own report to his son-in-law, and biographer, Mr. Roper, an annual income of four hundred pounds, equal at least to five thousand in our days. He remained however in disfavour at court till after the accession of Henry the eighth, who, with all his faults, easily discovered, and generally encouraged, true merit. The King sent for him by Wolsey, and, on the first taste of his extraordinary powers, determined to employ him. Foreign negotiation was then held to be the most essential part of the education of a statesman. More was directed therefore in 1516 to accompany Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, one of his intimate friends, to Flanders, for the renewal of a treaty of alliance with the Archduke of Austria, afterwards Charles the fifth, and on his return was warmly invited by Henry to devote himself to the service of the Crown, which his prudence, and indeed his interests, induced him at that time, and for some years after, to decline. The King at length pressed him with such earnestness that he durst no longer refuse, and in 1519 he accepted the office of a Master of the Requests; was soon after knighted, and sworn of the Privy Council; and in the succeeding year appointed Treasurer of the Exchequer. More's hesitation had been wholly unaffected. On the occasion of his becoming a Privy Counsellor, he expressed himself (according to Stapleton, one of his biographers,) to his bosom friend, Bishop Fisher, in these terms; and the passage is rendered the more valuable by the features which it discloses, on

such good authority, of Henry's character at that time. "I am come to the court extremely against my will, as every body knows, and as the King himself often twitteth me in sport for it; and hereto do I hang so unseemly, as a man not using to ride doth sit unhandsomely in his saddle. But our Prince, whose special and extraordinary favour towards me I know not how I shall ever be able to deserve, is so affable and courteous to all men, that every one who has never so little hope of himself may find somewhat whereby he may imagine that he loveth him; even as the citizens' wives of London do, who imagine that our Lady's picture, near the Tower, doth smile upon them as they pray before it. But I am not so happy that I can perceive such fortunate signs of deserving his love, and of a more abject spirit than that I can persuade myself that I have it already: yet, such is the virtue and learning of the King, and his daily increasing industry in both, that by how much the more I see his Highness increase in both these kingly ornaments, by so much the less troublesome this courtier's life seemeth unto me."

In 1523 he was chosen speaker of the House of Commons, and in the following year, says Hakewel, of the House of Peers. In the former capacity he again distinguished himself by his firm opposition to a subsidy, and, personally, to Wolsey, who came to the house, in his usual splendor, to influence the decision by his presence. On a question having been previously debated whether they should receive him but with a few attendants, or with his whole train, More is reported to have said, "Masters, forasmuch as my Lord Cardinal lately, ye wot well, laid to our charge the lightness of our tongues, for things uttered out of this house, it should not in my mind be amiss to receive him with all his pomp; with his maces, his pillars, his poll-axes, his crosses, his hat, and the great seal too; to the intent that if he find the like fault with us, then we may be the bolder, from ourselves, to lay the blame on those whom his Grace bringeth with him." The favour of Henry, whose natural generosity of spirit then perhaps remained

unabated, was not impaired by this unusual freedom: More, in 1526 was appointed Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster; in the following year was joined to Wolsey, and others, in an embassy to the Court of France; and in 1529 went with Tonstal to Cambray, to secure the payment of certain sums due to the King from Charles the fifth, his success in which business won him the highest approbation. He was now Henry's most esteemed servant, and most familiar companion, but he had found some reasons to alter his opinion of his master's character. Roper informs us that, about this time, Henry coming suddenly, as he frequently did, to dine with More at his house at Chelsea, and walking long after dinner in the garden, with his arm about Sir Thomas's neck, Roper, after the King's departure, congratulated him on so distinguished a mark of royal kindness, observing that no one except Wolsey had ever before experienced such condescension. "I thank our Lord, son," replied More, "I find his Grace my very good Lord indeed, and I believe he doth as singularly favour me as any subject within this realm; howbeit, son Roper, I must tell thee I have no cause to be proud thereof for if my head would win him a castle in France, it would not fail to go off."

Henry's mind was now wholly occupied by his long cherished project of the divorce. He had consulted and reasoned with More on that great subject, and had met with a firm opposition. So attached, however, was he to the man, or so anxious for the sanction of his coincidence, that he determined to gratify the one, or to bribe the other, by a grant of the first station under the crown. More was appointed on the twenty-fifth of October, 1530, to succeed the disgraced Cardinal in the office of High Chancellor, which had never before been held by a layman, and this was the first serious blow struck by Henry at the power of the priesthood. He entered on it with melancholy forebodings, which, were too soon verified. With a Christian perfection, which, as has been well said, and by a dissenter too, was such as made him "not only an

honour to any particular form of Christianity, but to the Christian name and cause in general;" his zeal for the Romish church was equalled only by the benevolent spirit in which he exercised it. He had for some time beheld in silent horror the gradual approaches to the downfall of that church, and was now called to a situation in which he was compelled either to aid its enemies with his counsels, and to ratify their decisions by his official acts, or to incur the severest penalties by his refusal. He virtuously preferred the latter, and, having persevered to the end in denying any degree of countenance to the proposed divorce, on the sixteenth of May, 1533, he resigned the seal, determined that it should never be placed by his hand on the instrument by which that process was to be concluded.

The definitive sentence was pronounced and published on the twenty-third, and the coronation of Anne Boleyn, to whom the impatient Henry had been for some time united, at least by the forms of matrimony, was fixed for the thirty-first of the same month. More, doubtless by the King's order, was pressed by several of the Bishops who were to officiate, to be present at the ceremony, for his reputation stood so high in the kingdom that even the slightest colour of approbation from him was esteemed important; but he stedfastly refused, and boldly declared to those prelates his conviction of the illegality of the marriage. Henry now sought to move him by terror. In the ensuing parliament a bill of attainder against him was agitated in the House of Peers, for misprision of treason in the affair of that enthusiast, or impostor, who was called the Holy Maid of Kent, and he was more than once cited before the Privy Council on other charges, but the evidence on each proved too weak even for the terrible fashion of that reign. The act of supremacy, which appeared in 1534, at length fixed his fate. When the oath prescribed by it was tendered to him he declined to take it, and was committed to the custody of the Abbot of Westminster, and, on a second refusal, a few days after, to the Tower of London.

Endeavours were now again ineffectually used to win him by persuasion, while the kind and merciful Cranmer as vainly endeavoured to prevail on the King to dispense with the oath in More's case. After fifteen month's imprisonment, he was arraigned of high treason at the King's Bench bar, for denying the King's supremacy. Rich, the Solicitor-General, afterwards Chancellor was the sole witness against him, and the testimony of that wretch, whose name should be consigned to eternal infamy, consisted in the repetition of speeches which he had artfully drawn from More, during a visit to his prison, in a familiar conversation, which Rich had commenced by expressly declaring that he had no commission to agitate in it any matter regarding the prosecution. Much even of this evidence Sir Thomas positively denied, but the jury found him guilty, and he was sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; a doom which Henry altered, in consideration of the high office which he had held. He was beheaded upon Tower Hill on the fifth of July, 1535, and his revered head was ignominiously exposed on London Bridge, from whence, after many days, it was privately obtained by his affectionate daughter, Roper, and by her placed in the vault of her husband's family, under a chapel adjoining to St. Dunstan's church in Canterbury. His body was interred in the chapel of the Tower, but afterwards removed, at the solicitation of that lady, to the parish church of Chelsea, and buried there, in the chancel, near a monument which he had some years before erected, with an inscription written by himself.

Perhaps of all the remarkable persons who adorned or disgraced the age in which he lived we are the most clearly acquainted with the life and character of Sir Thomas More; and this, though few men have found more biographers, for his life has been ten times separately written and published, we owe chiefly to the perfect candour and sincerity which distinguished him. His acts and his sayings composed the history not only of his conduct but of his motives, and left to those who have written of him only the

simple task of collecting facts, to which the fondest partiality could add no further grace, and on which even malice could have cast no blemish. But he lived without enemies, and, since his death, Bishop Burnet only has dared to lift a pen against his memory. In his earnest devotion to the Catholic faith, and to the See of Rome, he was severe only to himself. The fury of conflicting zealots was calmed while they reflected on his virtues, and when Rome celebrated his canonization with a just and honest triumph, the church of England looked on in silent approbation. In his court no one ever presided with more wisdom, learning, and perspicacity; with a more rigid devotion to justice; or with more vigilance, impartiality, and patience: when he quitted it, he left not a single cause undecided. The strictness of his loyalty, and his magnanimous independence, were always in perfect unison, because they flowed from one and the same source, an honest heart. In all the domestic relations the beauty of his life was unparalleled. Erasmus has left us a glowing picture of him, retired, at Chelsea, in the bosom of his family. The passage has been thus translated. "More hath built near London, upon the Thames, such a commodious house as is neither mean nor subject to envy, yet magnificent enough. There he converseth affably with his family; his wife, his son, and daughter in law; his three daughters, and their husbands; with eleven grandchildren. There is not any man living so affectionate with his children as he, and he loveth his old wife as well as if she were a young maid; and such is the excellence of his temper, that whatsoever happeneth that could not be helped, he loveth it as though nothing could have happened more happily. You would say there were in that place Plato's academy; but I do the house injury in comparing it to Plato's academy, where there was only disputations of numbers, and geometrical figures, and sometimes of moral virtues. I should rather call his house a school or university of christian religion, for there is none therein but readeth or studieth the liberal

sciences: their special care is piety and virtue: there is no quarrelling, or intemperate words, heard; none seen idle; which household discipline that worthy gentleman doth not govern by proud and haughty words, but with all kind and courteous favour. Every body performeth his duty, yet there is always alacrity; neither is sober mirth anything wanting."

More himself has proved the correctness of Erasmus's account in the dedication, to an intimate friend, of his Utopia, by expressions which I cannot help inserting here, for it is not easy to quit the story of his private life—"Whilst I daily plead other men's causes," says he (to use the words of his translator) "or hear them, sometimes as an arbitrator, other while as a judge: whilst this man I visit for friendship, another for business, and whilst I am employed abroad about other men's matters all the whole day, I leave no time for myself, that is for study: for when I come home I must discourse with my wife; chat with my children; speak with my servants; and, seeing this must needs be done, I number it amongst my affairs, and needful they are, unless one would be a stranger in his own house: for we must endeavour to be affable and pleasing to whom either nature, chance, or, choice, hath made our companions; but with such measure it must be done that we don't mar them with affability, or make them of servants our masters, by too much gentle entreaty and favour. Whilst these things are doing, a day, a month, a year, passeth. When then can I find any time to write? for I have not yet spoken of the time that is spent in eating and sleeping which things alone bereave most men of half their life. As for me, I get only that spare time which I steal from my meat and sleep; which, because it is but small, I proceed slowly; yet, it being somewhat, I have now at length prevailed so much, as I have finished, and sent unto you, my Utopia."

The chief singularity of his character was a continual disposition to excessive mirth, and the Lord High Chancellor of England

was perhaps the first droll in the kingdom. Lord Herbert, willing, for obvious reasons, to find fault with him, and unable to discover any other ground, censures the levity of his wit; and Mr. Addison well observes that "what was philosophy in him would have been phrenzy in any one who did not resemble him, as well in the cheerfulness of his temper as in the sanctity of his life and manners." Feeling that gaiety was the result of innocence, he seems to have conceived that the active indulgence of it was a moral duty. Among other hints of this remarkable opinion which are scattered in his works, speaking of the Utopian burials, at which he tells us none grieved, he says "when those to whom the deceased was most dear be come home, they rehearse his virtuous manners, and his good deeds, but no part is so oft or gladly talked of as his merry death." That his own was such is well known. He had not been shaved during his long imprisonment, and after he had placed his neck on the block, he raised his hand, and put his beard forward, saying that it should not be cut off, for it had committed no treason. His witticisms are to be still found in abundance even in every ordinary jest book, and none have been better authenticated.

That Sir Thomas More should have found leisure for most extensive and various exercise of his pen is truly astonishing. In his youth he composed some pieces in English verse, which do him little credit, and would, had they not been his, have been long since forgotten. They are entitled, "A merry jest, how a serjeant would learn to play a frier."—"A rueful lamentation on the death of Elizabeth, wife of Henry the seventh."—"Certain metres for the Book of Fortune."—Ballads called "Lewys, the lost Lover," and "Davy, the dicer,"—and nine sets of lines, explanatory of as many devices painted on certain hangings in his father's house. The first and last of these are supposed to have been his earliest productions. His prose works, in English, are a treatise on the text "Memorare Novissima, et in æternum non peccabis."—A Dialogue, treating of the worship of Images

and Reliques, praying to Saints, and Pilgrimages, and "touching the pestilent sects of Luther and Tyndale."—"The Supplication of Souls," written against Simon Fishe's popular tract named "The Supplication of Beggars."—"A Confutation of Tyndale," in nine books.—"An Apology," in answer to a book intituled "a Treatise of the division between the Spirituality and Temporality."—"The Debellation of Salem and Bizance," written in reply to an answer to that Apology.—"An Answer to the first part of the poisoned book which a nameless Heretic" (John Frith) "hath named 'the Supper of the Lord.'"—"A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation."—"A Treatise to receive the blessed body of Christ, sacramentally and virtually both."—The life of Picus, Earl of Mirandola, translated from the Latin; and several letters, among which are many to his family, beautifully illustrative of his character. All these were collected, and published in 1557, in one very bulky volume, by his sister's son, William Rastall, the eminent lawyer, together with an English translation of the Utopia.

His Latin works are the Lives of Edward the fifth, and Richard the third, unfinished, which may be found translated, and completed, by Bishop Kennet, in the best general collection extant of English history. The celebrated Utopia, of which twelve editions have been published in its original form, eleven in English, two in French, and one in Italian; and several smaller works, most of which were printed together at Louvain, in 1566, namely, "Expositio Passionis Domini."—"Precationes ex Psalmis."—"Quod pro fide mors fugienda non est."—"Responsio ad convitia Martini Lutheri."—"Imploratio divini auxilii contra tentationem, cum insultatione contra Dæmones, ex spe et fiducia in Deum."—"Epigrammata,"—"Progymnasmata,"—"Epistolæ,"—and "Epistola ad Academiam Oxon." He also translated the Dialogues of Lucian into Latin, and wrote annotations on the works of that author.

Sir Thomas More, when about the age of twenty-four, married

Jane, daughter of John Colte, of Candish, in Suffolk, and of Newhall, in Essex; by whom he had an only son, John; and three daughters, Margaret, wife of William Roper, of Eltham, in Kent, uncle to the first Lord Teynham; Elizabeth, of John, son and heir of Sir John Dauntsey; and Cicely, of Giles Heron, of Shacklewell, in Middlesex. Their brother, who has been idly said to have possessed scarcely common understanding, married an heiress of the family of Cressacre, of Barnborough, in Yorkshire, and so acquired estates there, which descended in the male line till the year 1795, when they fell by marriage to a family of Metcalfe, the heir male of which assumed, with an honest pride, the surname of his great ancestor. Sir Thomas married, secondly, Alice Middleton, a widow, the "old wife" mentioned by Erasmus, in a passage lately cited, and we are told by others that she was ugly, ill-tempered, and vulgar: by her he had no issue.

Engraved by H.T.Ryall.

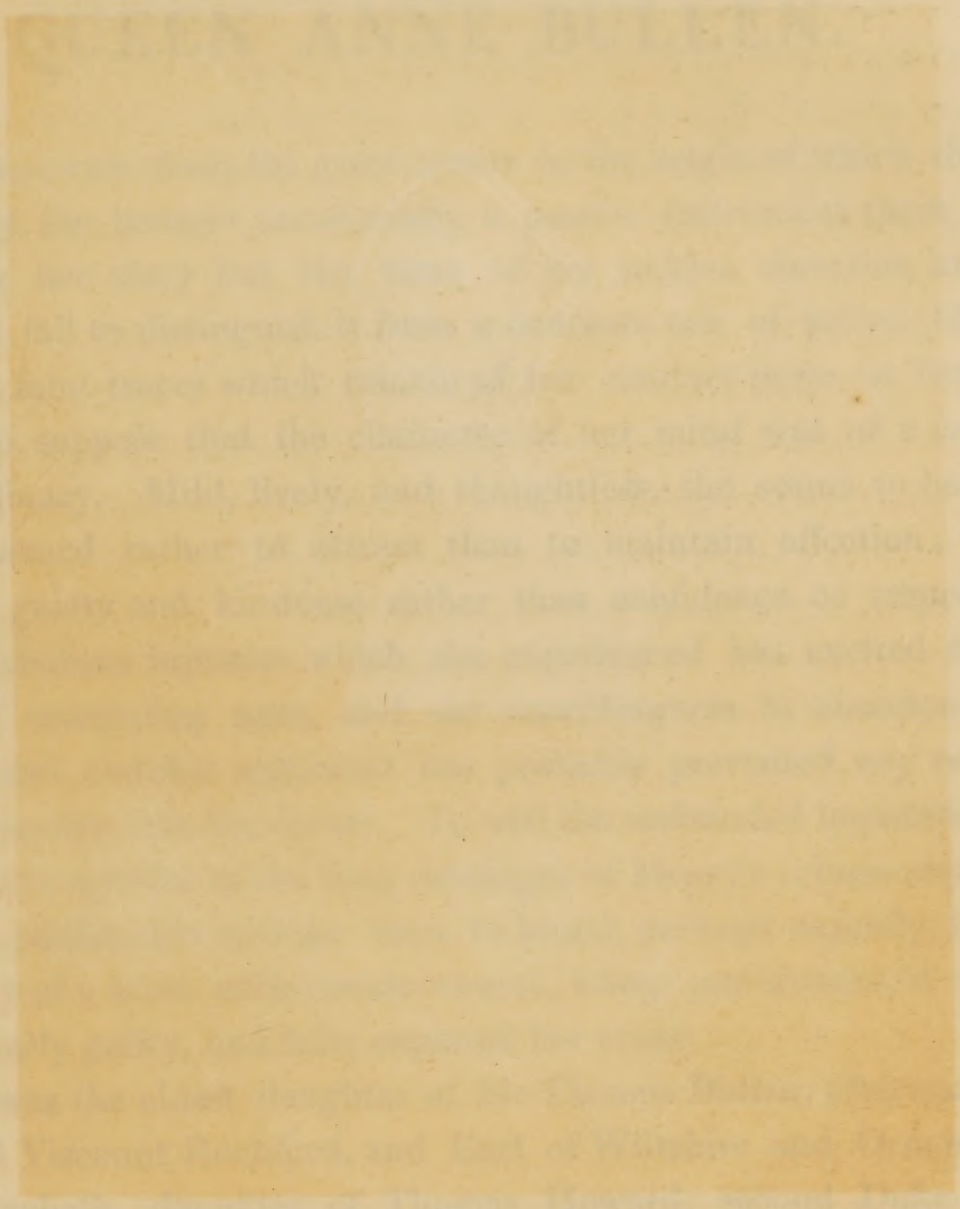
ANNE BULLEN.

OB. 1536.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF WARWICK.

London, Published May 1.1832, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



QUEEN ANNE BULLEN.

Abstracted from the great events in the origin of which this unhappy fair became accidentally a passive instrument there is little in her story but the facts of her sudden elevation and tragical fall to distinguish it from a common tale of private life, and the faint traces which remain of her conduct leave us little room to suppose that the character of her mind was of a cast less ordinary. Mild, lively, and thoughtless, she seems to have been formed rather to attract than to maintain affection; to inspire gaiety and kindness rather than confidence or respect. The barbarous injustice which she experienced has excited the pity of succeeding ages, and our unwillingness to abandon a tender and amiable sentiment has probably prevented any very strict enquiry into her errors. To add the unfounded imputation of another murder to the long catalogue of Henry's crimes seems a more pardonable mistake than to brand, perhaps unjustly, the memory of a most unfortunate woman, whose punishment, if she were really guilty, had fully expiated her crime.

She was the eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Bullen, afterwards created Viscount Rochford, and Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, by Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk of his family. It may be said, if the account of some French writers be correct, that she had been bred in Courts even from her cradle, for at the age of seven years, say they, she was carried to Paris, by Mary, sister to Henry the eighth, when she became Queen of France; remained with her till, upon the demise of the King her husband, the Queen returned to England; was then received into the household of Claude, consort to Francis the first; and, after the death of that Princess, in 1524, lived for some time in the family of Margaret of Valois, Duchess of Alençon

and Berry, sister to Francis, and afterwards better known as Queen to Henry the fourth. Lord Herbert, however, evidently considers her as having attended Mary to France in the character of an efficient domestic, and states, in which he could scarcely have been mistaken, that she returned in 1522. These differences are of small importance. It is certain that not long after her arrival in England she was appointed a Maid of Honour to Catherine of Arragon, and that the King became violently enamoured of her.

A mutual affection at that time subsisted between her and the Lord Percy, eldest son to the Earl of Northumberland, and they had privately plighted their troth to each other. Henry, who had observed their attachment, and dreaded the result, employed Wolsey, to whose grandeur even the heir of the house of Percy administered as a menial attendant, to break their connexion, and the Cardinal called the young Lord into his presence; chid him with extreme bitterness; and, having wrung from him the secret of the proposed match, commanded him with more than the authority of a master, to abandon it. Cavendish, in his life of Wolsey, gives a curious and lengthened detail of their conversation. Percy, having resisted as far as he dared, burst into tears, and promised obedience, which the Earl, his father, was summoned from the north to enforce; and Anne, to disguise the King's motive for this interference, which was then wholly unsuspected, even by herself, was banished from the Court. She was however speedily recalled, and in September, 1532, created Marchioness of Pembroke; Lord Percy was compelled to marry a daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and Anne to become the reluctant partaker in a Throne: she was privately married to Henry, on the twenty-fifth of the succeeding January, by Rowland Lee, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, none being present at the ceremony but her father, mother, and brother; her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, and Cranmer, who had lately been advanced to the Primacy.

Amidst the extravagance of passion which led to this match political considerations were not entirely overlooked. Some months before it was solemnized Henry imparted his resolution, we can scarcely believe in the spirit of mere friendly confidence, to Francis the first, whom he afterwards consulted as to the most proper time and method of publishing it to his subjects. Francis, in his hatred to the family of the ill-fated Catherine, encouraged it with the utmost earnestness, and in the October preceding the marriage received Anne, who then accompanied Henry in one of his magnificent visits to the French coast, with the distinctions due to a Queen. In the mean time Wolsey's utter disgrace had been accomplished. He had incurred the utmost resentment of which Anne was capable, not only by preventing her union to the man whom she loved, but by endeavouring to destroy the preference bestowed on her by another, whom she held at least in indifference. The Cardinal, on the other hand, hated her for her affection to the Protestant persuasion, which she is said to have imbibed from the lessons of Margaret of Valois, a Princess of extraordinary talents, and for the influence over the King which he naturally expected her to exert in favour of the reformation. Doubtless she contributed largely to his fall, and it is the only instance that we find in her conduct of departure from the most inactive feminine softness.

Such had been Henry's impatience that his divorce from Catherine was not fully completed when he married Anne. The definitive sentence was uttered on the twenty-third of May, 1533, when the new Queen was in the fifth month of her pregnancy. She was crowned on the first of June, and in the beginning of September, (for there are disputes, which is singular enough, as to the precise day) produced a daughter, afterwards Queen Elizabeth; immediately after which event the Parliament passed an act, ratifying the divorce; declaring the legality of the King's second marriage; and accordingly settling the Crown, in default of male issue from Anne, or any future wife, on the newly born

Princess. It was ordained by the same act that all persons above the age of twenty-one should swear to accept and maintain its provisions; and that such as should refuse that oath were to be deemed guilty of misprision of high treason: and whosoever should speak or write against the marriage or succession so established, adjudged traitors. The first sacrifices to this terrific law were those excellent persons, Sir Thomas More, and Bishop Fisher.

One year after the birth of Elizabeth, Anne was delivered of a Prince, who must have died soon after his birth. It may not be improper to observe somewhat particularly on this event. Some writers have informed us that she had a still-born son in January, 1535, and, in their eagerness to add unnecessarily to the measure of Henry's brutality, ascribe to that misfortune his vengeance against her, which, as will be presently seen, burst forth very soon after that period. If they intended to speak of the child whom I have mentioned, they have misrepresented two facts, for it was born in September, 1534, and undoubtedly came into the world alive; if they alluded to another, it will appear that Henry had a son by Anne Bullen who has hitherto never been noticed. In the Harleian collection is one of those letters which it was formerly usual to address, in the name of the Queen consort, to Peers, Lord Lieutenants, and Sheriffs of Counties, on the birth of an heir to the Crown; and as the subject, historically considered, may not be deemed unworthy of the fullest proof, I will insert the document at length.

"By the Queene."

"Right trustie and welbiloved, we grete you well; and whereas it hath pleased Almightie God, of his infinite marcie and grace, to send unto us at this tyme good spede in the delyverance and bringing furthe of a Prince, to the great joye, rejoyce, and inward comfort of my Lorde, us, and all his good and loving subjects of this his realme; for the inestymable benevolence soo shewed unto us we have noo little cause to give high thanks, laude,

and praising, unto our said maker, like as we doo, mooste lowly, humblie, and wth all the inward desire of oure harte. And, inasmuche as we undoubtedly truste that this oure good spede is to y^{r} great pleasure, comforte, and consolac˜on, we therefore by thies oure l˜res advertise you thereof, desiring and hartely praying you to give wth us unto Almightie God high thankes, glorie, laude, and praising, and to praye for the good helth, prosp˜itie, and contynuell preservac˜on of the said Prince accordingly.

Geven under our Signet, at my Lord's Manor of Grenewiche, the vii day of Septemb. in the xxvth yere of my said Lord'is reigne.

To our right trustie and
welbeloved the Lord Cobh˜m."

Anne's short-lived grandeur subsisted but for three years. Henry had seen Jane Seymour, and determined to possess her. In concerting his measures for the removal of the sole obstacle to his desires, if such a phrase may be applied to steps so summary that they scarcely seem to have been the result of reflection, he disdained even to invent a reasonable tale, or to mask his inhumanity with artifice. On the first of May, 1536, say our historians, he was present with the Queen at a tournament at Greenwich, in which her brother, the Viscount Rochford, led the challengers, and Henry Norreys, Esquire of the body to the King, and Usher of the Black Rod, the defendants. In the midst of the entertainment the King rose, and departed in sullen silence to Westminster, where he gave instant orders for the apprehension of the Queen, Rochford, and Norreys. To account for this extravagance, it has been idly reported that Anne had suddenly awakened his jealousy by dropping her handkerchief into the lists, which one of the combatants had taken up, and wiped his face with it. So eager was Henry for the execution of his command, that the Queen was arrested on the river by some of the Privy Council, as she returned to London, and her first examina-

tion actually took place in her barge. She was suddenly charged with adultery, and Norreys, together with Mark Smeton, William Brereton, and Sir Francis Weston, all of the King's Privy Chamber, were denounced as her paramours; to whom was added, monstrous to tell, her own brother, Rochford, on the accusation of a profligate wife who detested him. She fell into violent hysterics; at intervals vehemently asserted her innocence; earnestly begged to be permitted to see the King, which was refused; and appears to have been conveyed to the Tower in a state of insensibility. There she was questioned by Sir William Kingston, the Constable, who was instructed to sift her in familiar conversation. She talked wildly and incoherently, for her fits returned, as is evident from Lord Herbert's account, who says that "as her language was broken and distracted, betwixt tears and laughter, for she used both, little can be inferred thence." That nobleman has inserted in his history a long letter of expostulation, said to have been addressed by her to the King, and dated five days after her arrest, which has been frequently reprinted by subsequent writers, but he expresses a just doubt of its authenticity. It was indeed certainly the work of a wiser head, and of a later period.

On the fifteenth of May she was arraigned and tried by the House of Peers, on which occasion, to give a stronger colour to the justice of her accusation, her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, was barbarously appointed to preside as Lord High Steward, and her father, surely not willingly, sat among her judges. Not a tittle of legal evidence was adduced on her trial, except some loose and uncertain words which had fallen from her during her imprisonment, but the obedient Peers pronounced her guilty, and sentenced her to die. Spite, however, of the abject character which marked that time, some apprehension was formed that the people might resist the execution of this enormous decree; for on the nineteenth, very early, Kingston wrote thus to Secretary Cromwell.

"Sir,

If we have not an hour certain, as it may be known in London, I think here will be but few, and I think a reasonable number were best; for I suppose she will declare herself to be a good woman for all men but for the King at the hour of her death; for this morning she sent for me, and protested her innocency: and now again; and said to me 'Mr. Kingston, I heard say I shall not die afore noon; and I am sorry therefore, for I thought to be dead by that time, and past my pain.' I told her it should be no pain it was so sotell. And then she said she heard the executioner was very good; 'and I have a little neck,' (and put her hand about it) laughing heartily. I have seen many men and women executed, and they have been in great sorrow; and, to my knowledge, this lady hath much joy and pleasure in death."

Her expressions, as recited in this letter, for we have never heard that Anne possessed greatness of mind, savour of a frenzy, by which it may be hoped that she was accompanied to her last moment. She was beheaded on Tower Hill a few hours after it was written, and Henry the next day married Jane Seymour.

Little doubt has been at any time entertained of her innocence. Camden, in his cursory remarks on Henry's several marriages, prefixed to his history of the reign of Elizabeth, says, that the King "falling into new loves, jealousies, rage, and meditating blood and slaughter, that he might make way for the new fancy he had for Jane Seymour he called Queen Anne to her trial, accusing her, upon a slight suspicion, of adultery, after she had miscarried of a male child she went withal. Queen Anne cleared herself so far that the multitude that stood by judged her to be innocent and merely circumvented; nevertheless, her Peers condemned her," &c. Lord Herbert, with a more cautious expression, which, however, little disguises his opinion, tells us that "she was thought both moderate in her desires, and of discretion enough to be trusted

with her own perfections, as having lived, in the French Court first, and afterwards in this, with the reputation of a virtuous lady; insomuch that the whisperings of her enemies could not divert the King's good opinion of her, though yet he was in his own nature more jealous than to be satisfied easily. 'I do reject all those, therefore,' says Herbert, 'that would speak against her honour in those times they staid in France. But I shall as little accuse her in this particular of her affairs at this time. It is enough that the law hath condemned her; and that whether she, or any one else, were in fault is not now to be discussed. This is certain: that the King had cast his affection already on Jane Seymour, then attending on the Queen. But whether this alone were enough to procure that tragedy which followed may be doubted in this Prince; for I do not find him bloody but where law, or at least pretext drawn from thence, did countenance his actions."

Engraved by H. Robinson.

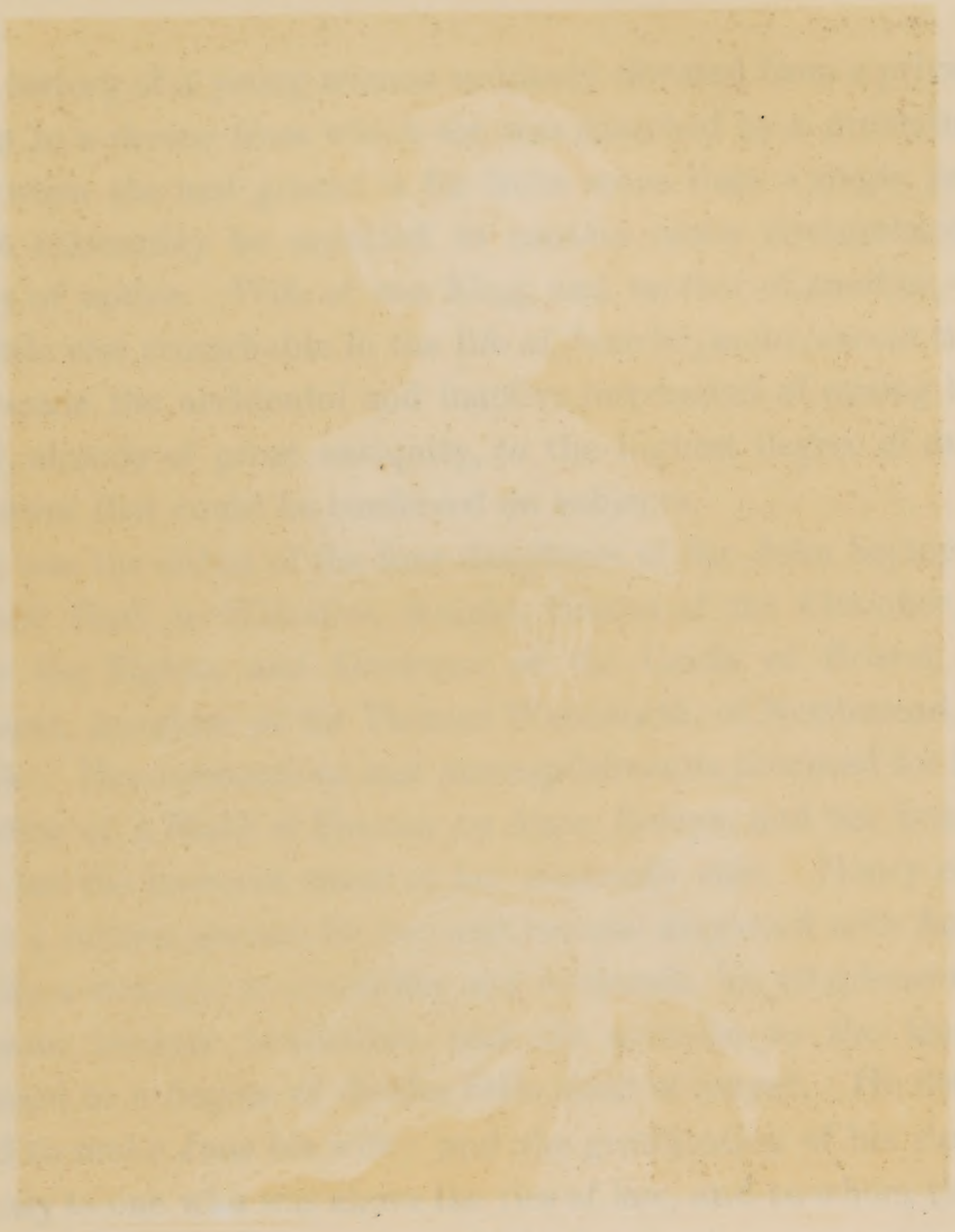
QUEEN JANE SEYMOUR.

OB. 1537.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, Published July 1, 1832, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



QUEEN JANE SEYMOUR.

The history of a young woman suddenly elevated from a private station to a throne from which she was snatched by a premature death when she had graced it for little more than a single year cannot reasonably be expected to contain many circumstances worthy of notice. Wife of one King, and mother of another, we find little else remarkable in the life of Jane Seymour, except that she became the accidental and inactive instrument of raising her family, already of great antiquity, to the highest degree of rank and power that could be conferred on subjects.

She was the eldest of the four daughters of Sir John Seymour, of Wolfe Hall, in Wiltshire, Knight, Groom of the Chamber to Henry the Eighth, and Governor of the Castle of Bristol, by Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Wentworth, of Nettlestead, in Suffolk. Her connections and accomplishments procured for her the office of a Maid of Honour to Anne Boleyn, and her beauty made her the innocent cause of her mistress's ruin. Henry conceived a sudden passion for her and became disgusted with Anne. Equally a stranger to sensibility and to morals, his attachment to her soon became irresistible, and his aversion to the Queen increased to a degree of dislike little short of hatred. He determined to make Jane his wife: and the gratification of his desire was easy to one who was above the ties of law, and to whom those of conscience were unknown. The unhappy Anne was accused of adultery, and put to death, and the unfeeling widower, on the very day, or, according to some, on the third day, after her execution, profaned the altar by pledging his vows to Jane Seymour. This union, according to all our historians, took place in the last week of May, 1536; and on the eighth of the following month the parliament passed an act to settle the Crown on its issue, either male or female, in exclusion of the Princess Mary

and Elizabeth. The issue of Jane, at least was first named; but, such was the abject submission of that body to Henry's pleasure, that the same act in the conclusion gave him full power to name whomsoever he might think fit for his successor.

About fifteen months after her marriage Queen Jane, was delivered of a son, the admirable Edward the sixth. The variance and confusion of historical reports as to the date of the birth of that Prince are very strange. All agree that it happened in 1537; but Hayward fixes it to the seventeenth of October, Sanders to the tenth, and most others, rightly, as we shall see presently, to the twelfth of that month. The following letter from the Harleian Collection, which was doubtless circular, to Sheriffs of Counties, &c. would furnish, if it were wanted, an additional authority for the last of these dates, as it may be reasonably presumed to have been written as soon as possible after the birth of the child.

By the Quene.

"Trustie and welbeloved, we grete you well; and, forasmuche as by the inestimable goodnes and grace of Almighty God we be delivered and brought in childbed of a Prince, conceived in most lawfull matrimonie between my Lord the King's Majestie and us; doubtinge not but, for the love and affection which ye beare unto us, and to the commonwealth of this realme, the knowledge thereof should be joyous and glad tydeings unto you, we have thought good to certifie you of the same, to th'intent you might not onely render unto God condigne thanks and praise for soe greate a benefit but alsoe pray for the longe continuance and preservac~on of the same here in this life, to the honour of God, joy and pleasure of my Lord the Kinge and us, and the universall weale, quiett, and tranquillitie of this hole realm.

Given under our Signet, att my Lord's Mannor of Hampton Court, the xii.th day of October."

To our trustie and welbeloved
George Boothe, Esquier.

The joy excited by this event was soon abated by the death of the Queen. It has been said that it was found necessary to bring the infant into the world by that terrible method called the Cæsarian operation; and Sir John Hayward, who in composing his life of Edward the Sixth undoubtedly sought the truth with all possible industry, positively states the fact. Other writers, but I know not on what ground, have treated that report as an idle tale, invented by the papists, in malice to Henry. It is true that Sanders, one of the most bitter writers on that side, tells us that the physicians were of opinion that either the mother or the child must perish; that they put the question to the king, which should be spared, the Queen or his son? and that he answered, his son, because he could easily find other wives. The latter part of this reply has certainly very much the air of a malicious invention, for Henry, amidst all his crimes, was an accomplished gentleman; but whether the anecdote be true or false, it does not clear up the point in question. A very short report to the Privy Council of the birth of the Prince, by her physicians, is extant, in which they state that the Queen had been *happily* delivered, and it has been argued therefrom that the birth could not have been attended by any peculiarly melancholy circumstance; but the word "happily" may perhaps be more properly referred to the production of a living child, a first born son, and heir to the Crown, than to the state of the mother. Whatsoever may tend to correctness as to such a fact cannot, historically speaking, be deemed insignificant; I trust therefore to be excused for having been somewhat minute on a disagreeable subject.

The date of the Queen's death, as well as that of the birth of the Prince, has been variously stated. Most of our historians fix it to the fourteenth of October, following probably Lord Herbert, who says that she was delivered on the twelfth, and departed two days after; but the official record in the College of Arms of the ceremonies of her funeral informs us clearly on both points; for the title, or preamble, of it is in these words; "An ordre taken

and made for the enterrement of the most high, most excellent, and most Chrysten Pryncess, Jane, Quene of England and of Fraunce, Lady of Ireland, and mother to the most noble and puyssant Prince Edward; which deceasyd at Hampton Courte, the xxxixth. yere of the reigne of our most dread Soveraigne Lord Kyng Henry the eight, her most dearest husband, the xxiiii.th day of Octobre, beyng Wedynsday, at nyght, xii of the clock; which departyng was the twelf day after the byrthe of the said Prynce, her Grace beying in childbed. Whose departyng was as hevy as hath ben hard of many a yere heretofore, for she was a very gracious Lady, havyng the love of all people." This document, which is of great length, informs us that she was buried at Windsor with the utmost pomp. Among much curious information, it discloses two very remarkable facts—that all the various devout services which were performed daily for near a month before the funeral, as well as on the day itself, were strictly after the order of the Romish ritual; and that the lately degraded and disinherited Princess Mary officiated as chief mourner.

Engraved by H. Robinson.

SIR NICHOLAS CAREW.

OB. 1539.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH.

London, Published April 1, 1835, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

SIR NICHOLAS CAREW.

Nicholas, a cadet of one of the junior lines of the ancient baronial House of Carru, or Carew, of Devonshire, was settled at Beddington, in Surrey, on considerable property acquired by marriage early in the fourteenth century, and from him the gentleman whose portrait is here presented was fifth in descent. He was the only son of Sir Richard Carew, a Knight Banneret, and Lieutenant of Calais, by Magdalen, daughter of Sir Robert Oxenbridge, of Ford in Sussex, and, at the death of his father, on the twenty-third of May, 1520, inherited from him estates in Surrey, which had gradually increased to so vast an extent that it is still traditionally reported in the neighbourhood of his family mansion that he might have ridden ten miles from it in any direction without quitting his own land. Thus personally powerful, descended from a family already well known to the Crown, which most of his nearest ancestors had served either in the Court or State, and in the prime of manhood and high spirit, he fell as it were naturally into that glittering train which the chivalrous character of the early years of Henry's reign attracted to the person of the Monarch, and presently acquired considerable favour.

He was appointed, about the year 1518, a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, an office of which the name only now remains in the royal household, but which was then invested with equal trust and dignity; and was soon after employed by Henry in transacting some affairs, probably relating to military matters, at Paris. There, during a residence of several months, the elegant manners and fashions of that court are said to have inspired him with a disgust to the comparative rudeness of his own, which on his return he declared on several occasions with a plainness so offensive to the high nobility, and to the King himself, that

Henry resolved to remove him from his person, and commanded him to repair to Ruysbanc, in Picardy, a fortress belonging to the English, of which, to save the appearance of disgrace, he was appointed governor. This umbrage however was transient, for in 1521 he had so completely regained the good graces of his master as to obtain the high distinction of the Garter, and in 1524 was raised to the post of Master of the Horse, and nominated Lieutenant of Calais. A living writer of much respectability has, by a strange anachronism, ascribed these promotions to the influence of Anne Boleyn, who was related to him, through a common ancestor, the Lord Hoo and Hastings; but Anne was then a child, and probably wholly unknown to the King, to whom she was not married till 1532.

He now approached to the station of a favourite: was Henry's constant companion in all the splendid and romantic sports of his court; administered successfully to his pleasures, and was not without some secret share in his counsels. Fifteen years had thus passed in unremitting favour, when in December, 1538, he was suddenly arrested; charged as a party with Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter, and other eminent persons, in a design to depose the King, and to place Cardinal Pole on the Throne; and was beheaded on the third of March, in the following year.

History affords us very little information on the subject of this mysterious plot, and yet less of the part which Carew was alledged to have taken in it, and, in the absence of regular and correct intelligence, invention and conjecture will ever be at work to supply the deficiency. Thus Fuller says, to use his own quaint terms, that " tradition in the family reporteth how King Henry, then at bowls, gave this Knight opprobrious language, betwixt jest and earnest, to which the other returned an answer rather true than discreet, as more consulting therein his own animosity than allegiance. The King, who in this sort would give and not take, being no good fellow in tart repartees, was so highly offended thereat, that Sir Nicholas fell from the top of his favour to the

bottom of his displeasure, and was bruised to death thereby. This was the true cause of his execution, though in our chronicles all is scored on his complying in a plot with Henry, Marquis of Exeter, and Henry Lord Montague." Lord Herbert, who seems to have told all that could be gathered on the subject, informs us that these two noblemen were found guilty before Thomas Lord Audley, " for the present sitting as High Steward of England,' and that, " not long after, Sir Edward Nevile, Sir Geoffery Pole, two priests, and a mariner, were arraigned, and found guilty also, and judgment given accordingly. The two lords and Nevile were beheaded ; the two priests and mariner hanged and quartered at Tyburn, and Sir Geoffery pardoned." Having thus particularised, even to the meanest, a number of the conspirators who were convicted under some form, at least, of judicial proceeding, the noble writer immediately adds " Sir Nicholas Carew also, Knight of the Garter, and Master of the Horse to the King, for being of council with the said Marquis, was beheaded." It should seem then that Carew was brought to no trial. Lord Herbert concludes, " The particular offences yet of these great persons are not so fully known to me that I can say much: only I find among our records that Thomas Wriothesley, Secretary, then at Brussels, writing of their apprehension to Sir Thomas Wyat, then his Highness's Ambassador in Spain, said that the accusations were great, and duly proved; and in another place I read that they sent the Cardinal money." Hollingshed tells us that Sir Nicholas, at the time of his death, " made a godly confession both of his fault and superstitious faith." He had been throughout his life a steady professor of the faith of the Romish church, and this, whatever were the offences for which he suffered, doubtless added no small weight to them.

Sir Nicholas Carew was buried in the church of St. Botolph, Aldgate, in the family vault of the Lords Darcy of the North, to whose House, as we shall see presently, he was allied. He married Elizabeth, daughter, and at length heir, of Sir Thomas Bryan,

son and heir of Sir Thomas Bryan, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and had by her one son, Sir Francis, and four daughters; Elizabeth, wife to a gentleman of the name of Hall; Mary, married to Sir Arthur Darcy, second son of Thomas Lord Darcy of the North; Anne, first to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, of Paulersperry, in the county of Northampton, secondly to Adrian Stokes; and Isabella, to Nicholas Saunders, son and heir of Sir William Saunders, of Ewell in Surrey, cofferer to Queen Mary. Sir Francis recovered, probably through the favour of Elizabeth, to whom he was personally known, and who graced his fine mansion at Beddington with the fearful honour of more than one visit, a great part of the estates which had been forfeited by the attainder of his father. He died a bachelor, and bequeathed them to his nephew Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, youngest son of his sister Anne, directing him to assume, as he did, the surname and arms of Carew. The descendants of the elder line from that gentleman became extinct in a female, Catherine Carew, who died in 1769, when the estates passed, under a settlement made by the will of her father, Sir Nicholas Hacket Carew, Baronet, first, to the heir male of the Fountaynes, of Melton in Yorkshire, secondly, to that of the family of Gee, of Orpington, in Kent, each descended by female lines from the subject of this memoir. Both these remainders have now failed, and the estates are possessed by the relict of the late Richard Gee, Esq. whose elder brother assumed the surname of Carew, under the authority of an act of Parliament.

Engraved by W. Holl.

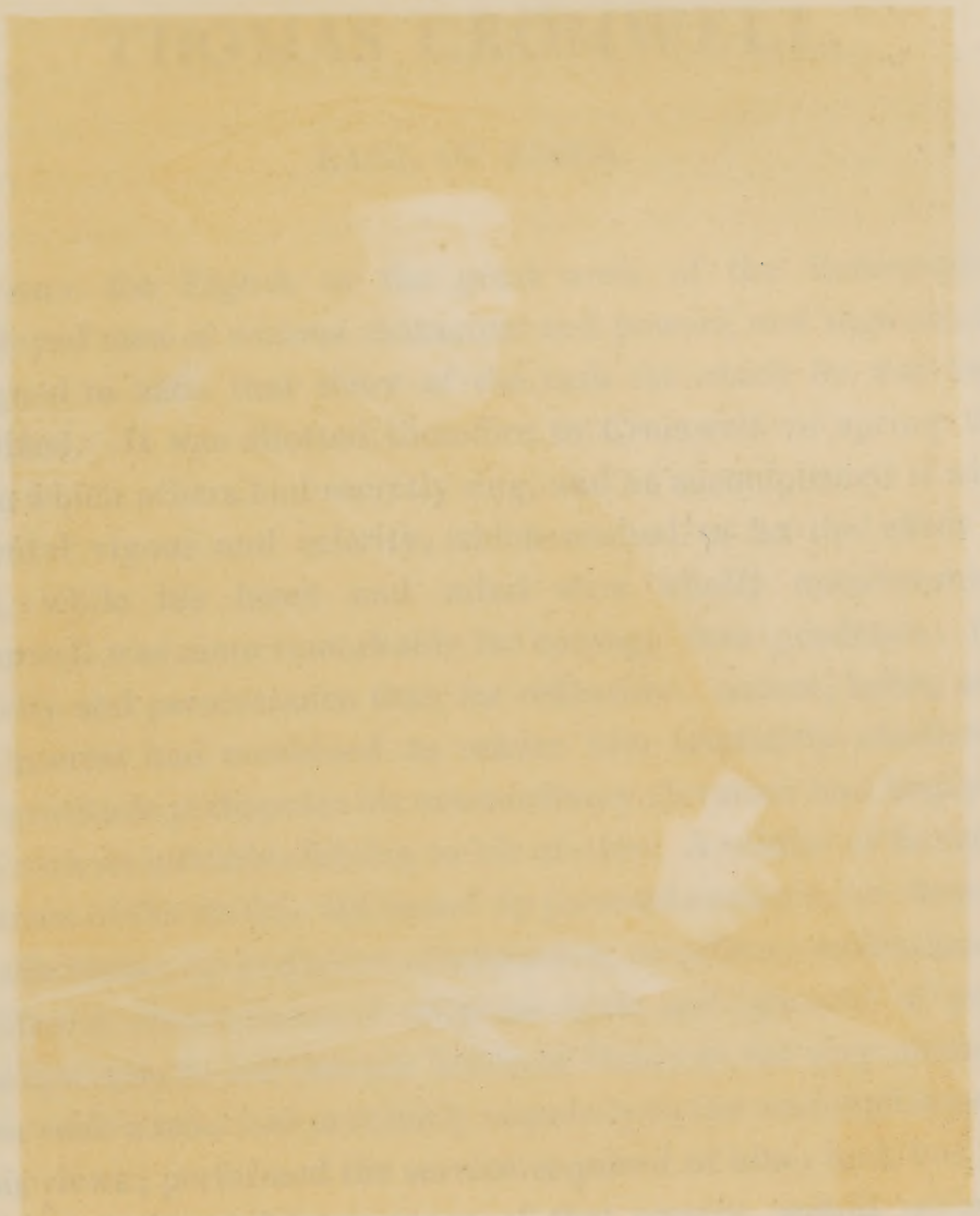
THOMAS CROMWELL, EARL OF ESSEX.

OB. 1540.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

SIR THOMAS CONSTABLE, BART.

London, Published Mar.h 1, 1833, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



THOMAS CROMWELL,

EARL OF ESSEX.

HENRY the Eighth in the great work of the Reformation employed men of various characters and powers, and sagaciously assigned to each that share of the task for which he was best qualified. It was allotted therefore to Cromwell to spring the mine which others had secretly dug, and he accomplished it with a brutal vigour and celerity, which seemed to be the effect of zeal, while his heart and mind were wholly unconcerned. Cromwell was more remarkable for courage than prudence; for activity and perseverance than for reflection: nature, habit, and self-interest had combined to render him implicitly obedient; and gratitude perhaps for his extraordinary elevation had inspired him with an inflexible fidelity to his master. A soldier of fortune, a citizen of the world; unbiassed by parental example, or domestic affections; by prejudice of education, or solitary enthusiasm: indifferent about modes of religious faith, and ignorant of political systems; he fell into the hands of Henry at the very moment when such a man was peculiarly necessary to the accomplishment of his views; performed the service required of him; and, but for the singularity and importance of that service, would perhaps long since have been nearly forgotten.

He was the son of Walter Cromwell, a blacksmith, and afterwards a brewer, of Putney, in Surrey, and it has been commonly reported that his mother was a Welshwoman of the name of Williams; but Dugdale, in his Baronage, denies this, and very reasonably traces the error to its probable origin. That author conceives that a sister of Cromwell married a Williams; for, as he truly tells us, Cromwell had a nephew of that name, whom he

brought into considerable favour and confidence with the King, and who afterwards assumed the designation of Williams alias Cromwell. This nephew, by the way, at length wholly disused the former surname; founded a respectable family in Huntingdonshire; and became grandfather to the Usurper Oliver, a fact which has been denied by some respectable writers, but of which there is scarcely room to doubt. Thomas, born of such parents, received, as might be reasonably expected, a very narrow education; but he had learned Latin; the New Testament in which language, "gotten by heart," to use the words of Lloyd, "was his masterpiece of scholarship;" and this renders it very probable that it was at first intended to foster him on the monastic bounty of that church, in the destruction of which he afterwards had so large a share. Be this as it might, there can be little doubt that from that, or some other destination, he ran away, to use a familiar phrase, from his family, for we find him suddenly in a foreign country, without friends, money, or views. At length he obtained employment and subsistence as a clerk in an English factory at Antwerp, which he soon quitted, and wandered from thence to Rome, with two Englishmen, who in 1510 were deputed from a religious society at Boston, in Lincolnshire, to solicit the renewal of certain indulgences, or pardons, as they were called, from Pope Julius the Second. He is said to have been highly instrumental to the good fortune of this mission, and Fox, in a long narration, which must rest on the credit of that singular writer, ascribes his success to a ridiculous circumstance. The Pope, according to Fox, took the money which the good Lincolnshire men had brought with them, but the fate of their petition remained long in suspense; till Cromwell, having learned that his Holiness was a great epicure, "furnished him with fine dishes of jelly, after the English fashion, then unknown in Italy," upon which the boon was presently granted. He remained long abroad, variously employed, and served as a soldier, or officer of ordinary rank, under the Duke of Bourbon, and is said to have

been present at the sacking of Rome by that prince; but here seems to be an anachronism; for that event occurred in 1527, and it is certain that he had returned to England, and had been retained by Wolsey, two years before that date.

During his residence in Italy he had an opportunity of rendering an important service to Sir John Russell, afterwards Earl of Bedford, who at that time resided at Bologna, charged by Henry with some secret mission adverse to the French interest. A plan had been laid to seize the person of that gentleman, and to send him a prisoner to Paris. Cromwell discovered it; and not only apprised him of it, but assisted him in making a precipitate escape. It is highly probable that Russell recommended him to the Cardinal, into whose family he was received immediately after that period, in the character, say all who have written concerning him, of that prelate's solicitor; meaning, I presume, as a steward, or agent for such of his affairs as did not relate to the state. In that capacity he was largely employed in 1525, in superintending the erection and endowment of Wolsey's two colleges at Ipswich and Oxford, and in suppressing the small monasteries, by the revenues of which it was intended to maintain them. He became soon after a member of the House of Commons, and when the articles exhibited against the Cardinal in 1529 were sent down to that House from the Peers, defended him against the charge of treason with equal boldness and acuteness. "From this honest beginning," says Lord Herbert, "Cromwell obtained his first reputation." He soon, however, assumed a different tone. Henry, at the recommendation, as it is said, of Sir John Russell, and Sir Christopher Hales, afterwards Master of the Rolls, took him nearly at that point of time into his service; and we find his lately disgraced patron presently after "importuning him," to use the words of the same noble author, "to induce the King," so great already was his influence, to spare the two colleges, "since," said Wolsey, "they are in a manner opera manuum tuarum," Cromwell answered that "the King

was determined to suppress them, though perhaps he might refound them in his own name, and coldly wished Wolsey to be content."

It has been said that he gained Henry's grace by disclosing to him the oath taken by the Romish clergy, " to help, retain, and defend, against all men, the rights of the Holy See," &c. and representing to him that it was in fact a virtual dispensation from their oath of allegiance to him. Doubtless Henry already well knew that it was their practice to subscribe to such an obligation, and had considered its effect. But then, adds Fox, who tells us so, " he declared also to the King how his Majesty might accumulate great riches; nay, as much as all the clergy in his realm were worth, if he pleased to take the occasion now offered;" and we may reasonably suppose that the King, in whose bosom the plan of dissolving the religious houses then secretly rested, must have been highly gratified by such advice from a man to whom he had probably already determined to entrust much of the execution of his scheme, when ripe for disclosure. Cromwell's first employment afforded a most favourable proof of the subserviency and the firmness which Henry had hoped to find in him. He was ordered to endeavour to threaten the clergy then sitting in convocation, into an acknowledgment of the King's supremacy, and to obtain from them a large sum, as a commutation for their punishment for having supported Wolsey's legantine power, and for having taken the oath lately mentioned. He succeeded in both, and extorted one hundred thousand pounds from the province of Canterbury, and nearly twenty thousand from that of York. This occurred in 1531. His favour now became visible to all. He was knighted in that year; sworn of the Privy Council, and appointed Master of the King's Jewel House; and in the next, Clerk of the Hanaper, a profitable office in the Chancery, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1534 he became Master of the Rolls, and a principal Secretary of State, and was about the same time elected Chancellor of the Univer-

sity of Cambridge; and in 1535 at length appeared publicly in the great part which he was to perform in the Reformation, with the newly invented title of Visitor-general of all the monasteries throughout England.

Spiritual pride is almost unknown to the Church of England. It may therefore be said without offence that the main object of Cromwell's visitation was the discovery of matters which might render the monastic institutions odious or contemptible, and so to furnish pretexts for their dissolution; and that it was marked by the most frightful instances of cruelty, baseness, and treachery. For these charges we have the authority of very respectable protestant writers. The principals of some religious houses were induced to surrender by threats; those of others by pensions; and, when both those methods failed, the most profligate monks were sought for, and bribed to accuse their governors, and their brethren, of horrible crimes. Agents were employed to violate nuns, and then to accuse them, and, by inference, their respective societies, of incontinence. All who were engaged in this wretched mission took money of the terrified sufferers, as the price of a forbearance which it was not in their power to grant; and Cromwell himself accepted of great sums from several monasteries, to save them from that ruin which he alone knew to be inevitably decreed. He executed his commission, however, entirely to Henry's satisfaction, and received the most splendid rewards. On the second of July, 1536, he was appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal; on the ninth of the same month the dignity of a Baron was conferred on him, by the title of Lord Cromwell of Okeham, in the county of Rutland; and on the eighteenth, the Pope's supremacy being now fully abolished, and the King declared Head of the Church, he was constituted Vicar-general and Viceregent over all the Spiritualty, and took his place in the convocation, sitting there above all the prelates, as the immediate representative of the King. This appointment was the signal for the total overthrow of the Roman Catholic establishment.

Cromwell's first act under its authority was the publication of certain articles for the government of the church, by which some of the most important points of the old faith were specifically rejected. Of the seven sacraments three only were retained; those of baptism, penance, and the altar. Preachers were enjoined to teach the people to confine their belief wholly to the Bible, and the three Creeds, and to restrain them from the worship of images, or saints so represented; and the doctrine of purgatory was denied, or, at least, declared to be uncertain and unnecessary. These articles were immediately followed by the prohibition of worship in the Latin tongue, and by the translation of the Holy Scriptures into English; inestimable benefits, for which our gratitude is justly due to Cromwell, as well as for the great temporal advantage of parish registers, which were at the same time ordained to be kept, solely, as it is believed, on his suggestion.

He was now loaded with new rewards. In 1537 Henry appointed him Justice of the Forests north of Trent, and, on the twenty-sixth of August in that year, gave him the Order of the Garter. In 1539 the castle and lordship of Okeham were granted to him, and the office of Constable of Carisbrook Castle; and, on the seventeenth of April, 1539, he was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Essex, and to the office of Lord High Chamberlain; having on the tenth of the same month been invested with the lands of the dissolved monasteries of St. Osyth's, Barking, Bileigh, St. John in Colchester, and other estates in the county of Essex, consisting of thirty manors; and with extensive possessions in those of Norfolk and Suffolk, among which was the large demesne of the Grey Friars of Yarmouth; together with a multitude of manors, lands, and advowsons, in other parts of England, all from the spoil of the discarded church.

Cromwell, however, thus in the zenith of his greatness, tottered on the brink of ruin. Already hated by the nobility, who viewed him as a base intruder on their order; by the priesthood, whom he had ruined; and by the poor, whom he had deprived of the

comforts of monastic hospitality and bounty; he became now an object also of the keenest envy and jealousy. The great house of Vere had been so long graced by the superb office of Lord Chamberlain, which had been successively granted to the Earls of Oxford of that name in succession, even for centuries, that they felt deprived as it were of an inheritance when it was bestowed on him, and the meanness of his origin aggravated their sense of the injury. The family of Bourchier, many branches of which remained, were equally mortified to see the Earldom of Essex diverted from their very ancient blood to that of the son of a smith. The Howards, always powerful, and just then most powerful; and Bishop Gardiner, who as an enemy was in himself an host, and whose favour with Henry was increasing, detested him. To ward off his danger, he endeavoured to conciliate the people; and to that end procured a commission to be erected for the sale, at twenty years' purchase, of such abbey lands as yet remained with the crown: meanwhile, to divert the attention of Henry from the representations of his enemies, he engaged that Prince in a treaty of marriage with Anne of Cleves, whose Lutheran zeal he hoped successfully to oppose to his Catholic adversaries, and whose gratitude for conducting her to so splendid a throne he expected to secure to himself. The King married her with indifference, and quitted her the next day, with disappointment, and even loathing; but the great weight of his resentment fell on Cromwell, by whom he had been persuaded to wed her.

Henry, from that hour, beheld him with aversion, and agreed, with his usual readiness on such occasions, to sacrifice a man who had no further extraordinary services to render to him. Cromwell was suddenly arrested at the Council Board, by the Duke of Norfolk, on the tenth of January, 1540, and conducted to the Tower; and, on the nineteenth of that month, a bill of attainder against him passed the House of Lords, but was received so coolly by the Commons that they let it remain with them, with little discussion, for ten days, and at length testified their

disapprobation of it by returning it to the Upper House, to which at the same time they sent another, prepared by themselves, which the Peers eagerly adopted. Amidst the articles of this new bill not one can be found to amount, even by the most forced construction, to treason; still it was a bill of attainder, and Cromwell, who so well knew his master, prepared for the worst. He addressed himself, however, at great length from his prison to Henry, imploring that his life might be spared; and Cranmer seconded his endeavours with remarkable boldness and freedom of terms, by a remonstrance, which Lord Herbert has preserved. Cromwell's letter betrays a miserable abjectness of spirit, and a remarkable poverty of thought and expression; Cranmer's abounds with that kindness and magnanimity which equally adorned his character. "Wher I have bene accusy'd," writes Cromwell, "to your Magestye of treason, to that I say I never in alle my lyfe thought wyllyngly to do that thyng that myght or shold displease your Magestye; and much less to do or say that thyng which of itself is of so high and abhominable offence, as God knowyth, who I doubt not shall reveale the trewthe to your Highnes. Myne accusers your Grace knowyth: God forgive them. For, as I have ever had love to your honor, person, lyfe, prosperitye, helthe, welthe, joy, and comfort; and also your most dere and most entyerly belovyd sone, the Prynce his Grace, and your procedyngs; God so helpe me in this myne adversitie, and confound yf ever I thought the contrary. What labors, paynes, and travailes, I have taken, accordyng to my most bounden deutye, God also knowyth: for, yf it were in my power, as it is God's, to make your Magestye to live ever young and prosperous, God knoweth I woolde. If it hadde bene or were, in my power to make ye so rich as ye myght enriche alle men, God helpe me as I wolde do hit. If it had bene or were in my power to make your Magestye so puyssant as all the world sholde be compellyd to obey yow, Christ he knowth I wolde, for so am I of all other most bounde; for your Magestye hath bene the most bountifull Prynce to me

that ever was Kyng to his subject—ye, and more like a dere father (your Magestye not offended) than a master. Such hath bene your most grave and godly counsayle towards me at sundry tymes. In that I have offended I ax yow mercy. Should I now for such exceeding goodness, benygnyte, liberalitie, and bounty, be your traytor, nay then the greatest paynes were too little for me. Should any faccyon, or any affeccyon to any point make me a traytor to your Magestye, then all the devylls in hell confound me, and the vengeance of God light upon me, yf I sholde once have thought yt, most gracious Soverayn Lord," &c.

While Cromwell thus essayed to move the compassion of Henry by clumsily flattering his ruling appetites, Cranmer, with a noble simplicity, and with an anxiety to serve his friend which almost demands pardon for an impious expression into which it betrayed him, writes thus. " Who cannot but be sorrowfull and amazed that he sholde be a traytor against your Majesty? He that was so advancyed by your Majesty; he who lovyd your Majesty, as I ever thought, no less than God; he who studyed always to sett forward whatsoever was your Majestie's will and pleasure; he that caryd for no man's displeasuer to serve your Majesty; he that was suche a servant, in my judgement, in wisedome, diligence, faythefulness, and experyence, as no Prynce in this realme ever had; he that was so vigylant to preserve your Majesty from all treasons that fewe colde be so secretly conceyved but he detected the same in the begynnyng? If the noble Prynces, of happy memorye, Kynge John, Henry III, and Richard II, had had such a counsaylor about them, I suppose they sholde never have byn so trayterously abandoned and overthrowen as those good Prynces were," &c. Henry, however, remained unmoved by these, or any other remonstrances; and Cromwell was beheaded on Tower Hill, on the twenty-eighth of July, 1540.

It has been asserted that this remarkable man also married a person of the name of Williams, but this is very uncertain.

Whomsoever might have been his wife, he left by her an only son, Gregory, who was created Baron Cromwell of Okeham on the same day that his father was advanced to the Earldom of Essex; who married Elizabeth, a sister of Queen Jane Seymour; and in whose posterity the title of Lord Cromwell remained for several generations.

Engraved by J. Cochran.

MARGARET TUDOR.

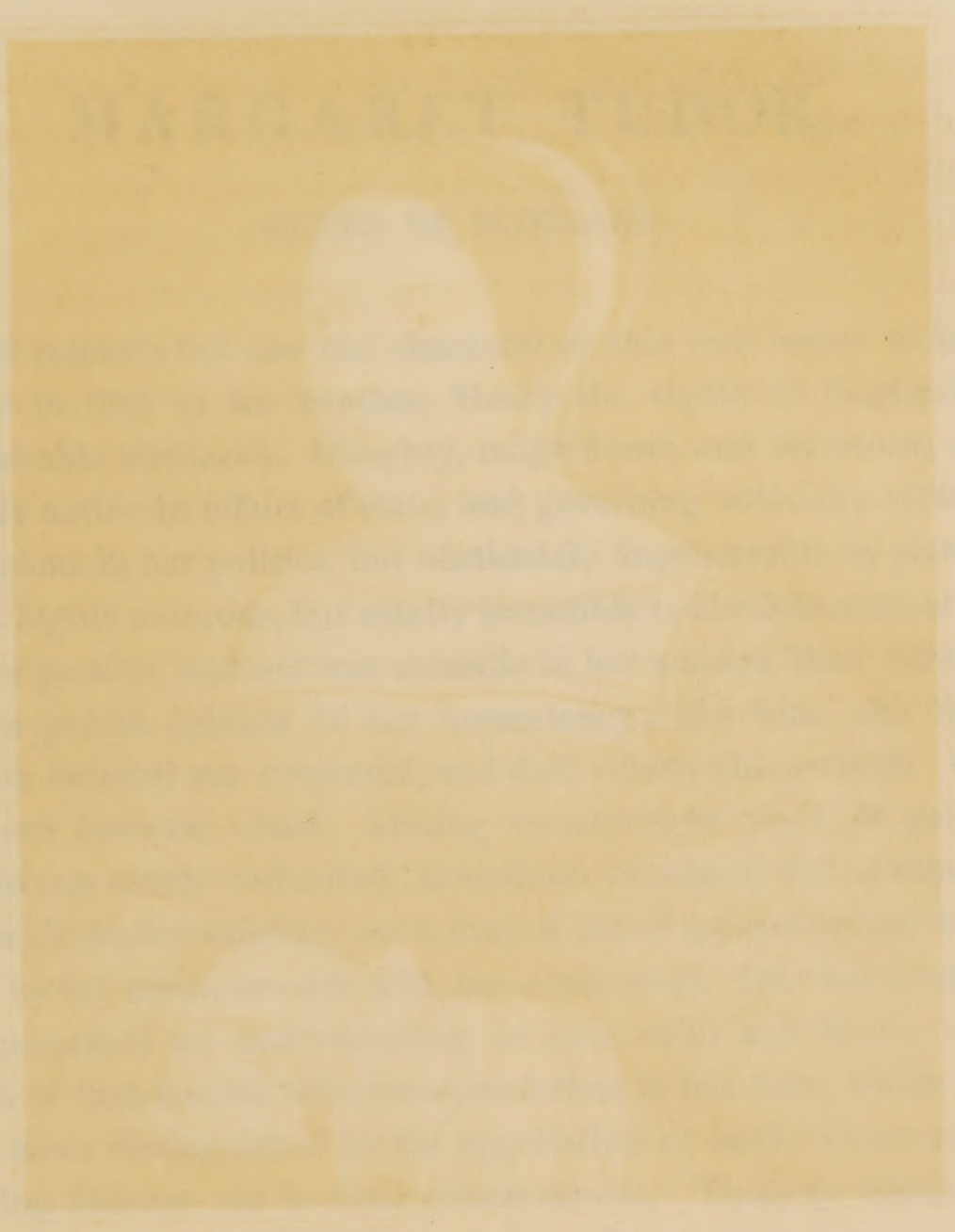
QUEEN OF SCOTLAND.

OB. 1541.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF LOTHIAN.

London, Published Novr. 1, 1834, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



MARGARET TUDOR,

QUEEN OF SCOTLAND.

In all respects but one the character of this lady seems to have borne to that of her brother, Henry the eighth of England, a remarkable similarity. Haughty, magnificent, and luxurious; officiously active in affairs of state, and governing without a system; capricious in her politics, but obstinately impenetrable by persuasion; highly amorous, but totally insensible to the delicacies of the tender passion, and not less versatile in her amours than careless of the public opinion of her inconstancy; like him, she lived neither beloved nor respected, and died wholly unregretted. She was not however cruel. During twenty-eight years of power, sometimes nearly unlimited, sometimes abridged, but always in no small degree existing, not a drop of blood appears to have been shed by her order, or even with her connivance. Like her brother, she possessed an understanding at once solid and lively, with much of that mental refinement, nameless in her time, which has been since distinguished by the appellation of taste. There was a striking likeness too in their countenances. Those to whom the portraits of the youthful Henry are familar cannot but perceive the resemblance.

It is scarcely necessary to say that she was the eldest daughter of Henry the seventh, by Elizabeth, daughter of Edward the fourth. There is some variance in the accounts of the date of her birth, but the best authorities fix it to the twenty-ninth of November, 1489. Her father, while she was yet in the cradle, meditated to offer her hand to James the fourth of Scotland, and, with the view of detaching that chivalrous prince from a treaty into which he had been tempted by the Duchess of Burgundy,

sister of Edward the fourth, in favour of the pretensions of Perkin Warbeck, proposed the marriage in form when she had scarcely reached her sixth year. James refused; invaded the English border, accompanied by Perkin; and Henry, with the patient and persevering policy which usually marked his measures, contented himself with a steady defence, and, soon after the Scottish King had returned into his own dominions, reiterated the offer. A negotiation of more than three years succeeded, during which the monarchs pledged themselves to an amity for their joint lives, and on the eighth of August, 1503, the marriage was at length celebrated at Edinburgh. Such was then the value of money that the portion of the royal bride was no more than ten thousand pounds; her jointure, in case of widowhood, two thousand annually; and the yearly allowance for her establishment as Queen Consort, only one. The nuptials however were distinguished by the most gorgeous splendour and festivity, of which, as well as of the Princess's journey from London to Edinburgh, a particular and very curious account, in the way of diary, by John Young, Somerset Herald, who attended her, is published in Leland's Collectanea, from the original manuscript remaining in the College of Arms.

For ten years after her marriage the name of Margaret scarcely occurs in history. Between her husband and herself a mutual tenderness seems to have subsisted, which withdrew him from the vague and transient amours in which he had been used to indulge, while it rendered her indifferent to the course of public affairs, and the intrigues of factions. The death of her father, in 1509, was the prelude to important changes in the political relations of the two countries. Henry the eighth however renewed the compact which had been dissolved by the demise of his predecessor, and more than two years passed in profound peace, when a variety of minute causes, some of them merely of a private and domestic nature, produced fresh discords. Ineffectual negotiations succeeded, in which the moderation of Henry, who was not yet a

tyrant, and the impetuosity of James, were equally conspicuous. A new war at length took place, which terminated in the decisive battle of Flodden, and, on the ninth of September, 1513, rendered Margaret a widow. Her consort, an amiable and popular Prince, who, had his prudence kept pace with his good intentions, would have established a splendid fame, fell in the forty-first year of his age, leaving, of several, only one legitimate child, James, his successor, at that time little more than twelve months old.

The King by his will appointed Margaret, now in the twenty-fourth year of her age, to the Regency, and his nomination was confirmed by a parliamentary council, composed of such of the nobility as had escaped the late terrible encounter, together with the heads of the clergy. This decision, though apparently unanimous, invested her however but with a precarious authority. The influence of France, which had been for more than a century gradually increasing in Scotland, was warmly exerted in favour of John Stuart, Duke of Albany, first cousin to the deceased King, and presumptive heir to the throne, whose whole life had been passed in France, whither his father had been exiled by James the third, his elder brother. A party presently embodied itself to support his interest, and Henry, unaccountably deviating from the character of his nature, as well as from that of his usual policy regarding Scotland, left his sister's authority unaided either by war or negotiation. This forbearance, if we could suspect Henry of the amiable fault of over pliancy, might be fairly ascribed to her persuasion. She informed him of the measures which were in agitation for placing Albany at the head of the government; declared her indifference to the success of them; and even requested his mediation to promote a good understanding between herself and Albany, and those by whom his pretentions had been forwarded. Her motive, however, presently discovered itself.

Margaret, immediately after her husband's death, or perhaps even before it, had abandoned herself to an indiscreet affection.

James left her pregnant of a son, who received the name of Alexander; was created Duke of Ross; and died in the second year of his age: and she had scarcely recovered from the natural abatement of health which followed the birth of this child, when, to the surprise and regret of the whole kingdom, she suddenly married Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, an almost beardless youth, as much distinguished among his compeers by his ignorance and inexperience as by the graces of his person and manners. By the law of Scotland, as well as the terms of the late King's will, the fact of this imprudent union abrogated her Regency, but the penalty was not enforced. Angus derived considerable power from his great domains; and others among the prime nobility, enemies to Albany, and to the French interest, still lent their support to her tottering rule. That Prince, virtually Regent, unaccountably delayed his voyage for nearly a year; the country became distracted by factions; and it was perhaps at this period that Henry first meditated to subjugate it by artifice. While Margaret, irritated by daily insults, pressed him to march an army into Scotland to her relief, he exhorted her to fly with her sons to England, but she rejected, from fear, mixed perhaps with better motives, an expedient which doubtless would have deluged Scotland with blood. Albany at length arrived, in the spring of 1515, and was received by her with a complacency which, considering the difficulties of her situation, was probably in some degree unaffected, but he denied to her even the mere politeness due to her rank and her sex. He removed from her, by the harshest exertions of his new authority, her most favoured servants, and prevailed on the parliament to depute certain peers to demand of her the custody of her children. She received them at the principal gate of Edinburgh castle, her jointure mansion, holding the young King by the hand, while his brother, a helpless infant, appeared near her in his nurse's arms. As they approached she cried, "Stand—declare the cause of your coming." They disclosed their commission; when she instantly commanded to let

fall the portcullis, and addressed them from within. "This Palace is part of my enfeoffment, and of it by my late husband the King was I made the sole governess, nor to any mortal shall I yield the important command; but I respect the Parliament and nation, and request six days to consider their mandate; for of infinite consequence is my charge, and my counsellors now, alas, are few." While Margaret was giving this proof of a noble and daring spirit, the dastardly Angus gratuitously testified, in due form of law, that he had besought the Queen to surrender her infants, in compliance with the requisition of the Regent and the Parliament.

Margaret now retired with her sons to the castle of Stirling, a fortress of some strength, and on the fifth day demanded of the Regent that they should be left in her custody, offering to maintain them on her dowry. This suit was rejected, and Albany, with a force of seven thousand men, proceeded to besiege the castle. The infant King and his brother were forced from her arms, and placed in the hands of some noblemen devoted to the Regent, while the Queen was re-conducted respectfully, but not without some appearance of captivity, to Edinburgh. Angus, whom the Regent held in the utmost detestation, fled into his own country, and, joining the Lord Home, appeared in arms against Albany, who, on his part, endeavoured to amuse Margaret with insincere negotiation, and, on her disdainful rejection of his overtures, compelled her to write to the Pope and the King of France, declaring her approbation of the measures of his government. A victim thus at once to fraud, to violence, and to her own folly; stripped of her revenues, and suffering even almost the utmost evils of poverty, she managed to concert with Lord Dacre, Warden of the English Marches, the means of escaping into her own country. Henry agreed to receive her, and, however indignant at her marriage, permitted Angus to accompany her. Amidst difficulties and danger, and in hourly expectation of childbirth, she arrived in England on the tenth of October, 1515.

and was in fact delivered eight days after, at Harbottle, in Northumberland, of a daughter, Margaret, who became at length the wife of Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox, and progenitrix of a long line of royalty, which yet happily remains.

The Queen, suffering under the usual consequences of this event, and oppressed by acute anxieties, had proceeded no further than Morpeth, on her way to London, when she was seized by a severe illness, which confined her there for many weeks. During that interval the weak and fickle Angus not only privately made his peace with the Regent, but left her, and returned into Scotland, an offence for which she ever after entertained an unalterable and pardonable resentment. She arrived not till the beginning of April, 1516, at her brother's court, where she remained for fourteen months, at the termination of which, Albany, hoping to lessen by a temporary retirement the odium which his despicable and tyrannical government had justly provoked, departed for France, and Margaret, invited by himself and the Parliament, and having on her part engaged to leave his now almost nominal authority undisturbed, arrived in Scotland one week after he had quitted it; was replaced in the possession of her estates, and personal property; and found herself at the head of a considerable party. Albany had fixed five months as the term of his absence, and when they were nearly expired, weary of his regency, and fond of a country in which his character and habits had been formed, he wrote to the Queen, desiring her to assume the government. Margaret, offended and mortified as she had been by her husband, who had now added to former causes of disgust a glaring infidelity to her bed, was sensible however that the aid of such a subject was highly important to the support of the power thus offered to her. She requested the Council of Peers, in whose hands the direction of affairs had been left by Albany, even to recognize him as Regent, and applied to Henry to the same end, but her suit was unsuccessful with each: Angus, however, assisted by her influence, insensibly acquired, during

three years of alternate tumult or intrigue, all the faculties of that station, when Margaret, by a singular change of policy, if that which was little more than the mere result of various passions may deserve to be so called, solicited Albany to return. A proposal which promised him her aid in the conduct of his government was too tempting to be refused. He arrived in November, 1521; chased her husband from her presence, and compelled him to banish himself to France; and assumed, with her entire concurrence, the supreme rule, and the custody of the young King, her son.

The Regent had scarcely been thus restored, than something more than the tongue of scandal proclaimed an improper intercourse between the Queen and himself. Dacre, in a letter to Henry, even of the following month, says "There is marvellous grete intelligence between the Quene and the Duk, as well all the day as mich of the night; and, in maner, they sett not by who knowe it: and, if I durst say it for fere of displeasure of my Soverein, they ar over tendre; whereof if your Grace examyne the Bushop of Dunkeld, of his conscience, I trust he will shew the truthe." Henry gave the fullest credit to these reports, and the Queen herself, in one of her many original letters which have been preserved, complains to her brother that Wolsey had called her in the Privy Council "the concubine of Albany." The public opinion of her dishonour was confirmed by her anxiety to obtain a divorce from Angus, which, though she had entertained the design from the hour in which he abandoned her at Morpeth, had not been till now disclosed. In this she was for the present disappointed, chiefly by the opposition of Henry, who, wishing to use him as a counterpoise to the renovated power of Albany, repeatedly demanded of her to receive him again as her husband, in a tone of anger and reproach ill calculated to persuade a woman of her disposition: and now, whether in the hope of bribing her brother to concurrence, or from a mere affection to her native country, she commenced a secret correspondence with him and

his ministers, in which she disclosed from time to time every project formed by Albany with relation to England, and by this useful treachery prevented the most formidable invasion ever meditated by Scotland, and induced the Regent to disband, in the face of a very inferior force, an army of eighty thousand men, with which he was on the point of crossing the border.

The experience even of a few days convinced Albany of the extent of his error. The Scots taxed him with cowardice; the French with treachery; and he formed a sudden resolution again to quit the country, and to weaken the effect of the suggestions of his enemies by carrying to Paris, together with the first news of his unaccountable conduct, the best apology he could frame for it. He embarked on the twenty-fifth of October, 1522, having stipulated, on pain of forfeiture of the Regency, to return before Assumption-day, the fifteenth of August, in the succeeding year. Henry took advantage of his departure to institute various intrigues in Scotland, and addressed himself with success to the love of rule which, in spite of caprice, invariably distinguished his sister. He proposed that the young King should be solemnly placed on the throne, and invested with the exercise of the supreme power, assisted, in fact governed, by the advice of Margaret, and a select Council. An arrangement which involved the interests of many jarring parties necessarily required time, and Albany, who had been apprised of it in an early stage of its progress, arrived shortly after the appointed day, and wholly thwarted it. The Queen, terrified, and watched on all sides, meditated to fly once more to England, but Henry opposed her design. Albany however shewed no disposition to resent her defection, and is said to have treated her even with a polished courtesy, and Margaret, ever versatile, readily coalesced with him. The lapse however of a very few months finally terminated his rule in Scotland. A second disgraceful and bloodless retreat, in November, 1524, with an army which he had raised to invade England, compelled him to quit for ever a country in which he was now utterly disgraced,

and she instantly joined, without hesitation, her political influence to that of his constant adversary the Earl of Arran. Jealous of her brother's interference in the affairs of Scotland, she had now the satisfaction of accomplishing without his assistance the plan which he had formed for investing her son with the sovereignty, through the weight which she had derived from the accession of Arran. Henry seemed indisposed to resent this affront, but secretly prepared to undermine their power, by the aid of Angus, who had at his invitation at length left France, and was awaiting in London some turn of affairs which might favour his return to Scotland.

While these matters were passing Margaret sacrificed her character and her interests, as a woman and a Queen, to a new amour. The object of this folly, who had scarcely reached his twentieth year, was Henry Stuart, second son of Andrew Lord Evandale, and, incredible as it may seem, she presently placed this boy in the offices of Lord Treasurer and Chancellor. Scotland was now in fact without a government, and at this period, the winter of 1524, Angus arrived at Edinburgh, and, with much shew of moderation claimed his marital rights of the Queen, and offered to her his services. It is scarcely necessary to say, that she rejected both. Angus, as his design had been, joined a party of the justly incensed nobility, who chose him their leader, and the Parliament, which was then sitting, appointed him, with six other lords, spiritual and temporal, a Council of Regency, in which the empty title of Principal, with a mere shadow of authority, was allowed to the Queen. The mortified Margaret now retired with Arran, and her minion, to the castle of Stirling, leaving the King in the hands of Angus and his party. She stifled however her resentment for a time, and opened a correspondence with Angus, in the hope of persuading him to consent to a divorce, which she at last obtained. In the mean time James, who soon became weary of a sort of captivity to which he was now subjected, pressed her by secret messengers to devise means for his release.

Two of those irregular military enterprises then so frequent in Scotland were instituted by her direction with that view, and not without some hope of recovering her own authority, but both were fruitless. Her love of rule, and disposition to political intrigue, were now for a while suspended by the long solicited sentence of divorce, and in March, 1525, she became the wife of Henry Stuart, and in a great measure sacrificed to an unpardonable weakness the slender remains of her public consequence.

Margaret's importance had indeed now merged into that of her son. James was in his fifteenth year, naturally manly for his age, and distinguished for that præcocity of spirit which the consciousness of high birth seldom fails to excite in the healthy and robust. He loved his mother, and longed to maintain to the utmost the splendor of her rank, and to salve the wounds that she herself had inflicted on her good name; while she, in addition to the usual partiality of a mother, in which she seems to have been by no means wanting, was naturally anxious to aid that authority which strove to exert itself on her behalf. Margaret had always been popular in Scotland, and Angus found it prudent to relax the severity with which he had interdicted all intercourse between them. The Queen was admitted to visit her son for long intervals, and acquired over him a considerable influence, which she exerted to the prejudice of Angus. James, pressed perhaps as well by a sense of duty as by her instances, determined to escape from the thraldom in which he was held by that nobleman, and having contrived to fly in disguise from his palace of Falkland, and from the stern custody of Sir George Douglas, the brother of Angus, reached Stirling in safety, where he found the nobility of his mother's party prepared to receive him. Fully possessed at length of the regal authority, he overthrew the whole fabric of government lately erected by Angus and his friends, whom he proscribed, and restored his mother to the dignity of her proper station, and to the enjoyment of her revenues, without unduly surrendering to her the direction of the affairs of the state.

Thus unwillingly disencumbered of the cares of sovereignty, the restless spirit of Margaret wasted itself on real or imaginary domestic grievances. She became weary of her third husband, now decorated by James with the title of Lord Methven, accused him of squandering her revenues, and actually instituted a process of divorce from him, which her son, in compassion to her character, interposed his authority to suppress. Meanwhile, from the mere thirst of employment, she condescended for a time to become a spy for her brother Henry, whose advice and interests in her intervals of power she had always slighted, and perplexed his measures with useless intelligence. The King, her son, had married, and become a widower, and had taken a second wife. His private affections, and his political interests, had been thus diverted into new channels, and Margaret's views of influence had become mere visions. She retired unwillingly, and became forgotten by all but the little circle of her court, and, dying at Methven, in June, 1541, was buried in the church of the Carthusians at Perth.

A vast treasure of the most secret original correspondence of this remarkable woman fell into the hands of Sir Robert Cotton and is extant in our great public repository, the British Museum. From that source, chiefly through the medium of a modern historian of Scotland, whose indefatigable labours cannot be too highly prized, this very superficial sketch of her story has been derived. To those who may be desirous to gain a more clear and direct view of the power and weakness of her mind; of the elegancy of her accomplishments, and the meanness of her follies; I beg leave to recommend that inspection of the originals which I have not neglected. The character of Margaret Tudor will be found to stand almost alone among the curious anomalies of history.

Engraved by W.H.Mote.

CHARLES BRANDON, DUKE OF SUFFOLK.

OB. 1545.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, Published July 1, 1830, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

CHARLES BRANDON,

DUKE OF SUFFOLK.

This fortunate and gallant man was the son of William, or, as he is generally styled, Sir William Brandon, (though it is doubtful whether he was a knight) by Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of Sir Henry Bruyn, and widow of a gentleman of the name of Mallory. It may be said that he had an hereditary claim on the friendship and gratitude of Henry the Eighth, for his father had appeared among the first assertors of the late King's title to the throne; had forfeited an ample patrimony, and joined that prince in his exile in Britany; returned with him to England; and fell in Bosworth field, where he bore the standard of the House of Lancaster, in the very hour which seemed to promise him the brightest fortunes. He was slain by the hand of royal Richard himself.

Charles became in every sense a ward of the Crown; was bred in the Court, and chosen by the King as one of the more familiar attendants on the person of his heir. He must have been at least five years older than the Prince, for his father died in 1486, and the young Henry was not born till 1491. It is probable then that he became rather the director than the companion, as he has generally been called, of his master's amusements: and that the observation too which somewhat riper years perhaps enabled him, even at that time, to make on Henry's disposition might have laid the foundation of that uninterrupted security in which for so many years he alone enjoyed constantly the Royal favour. With a sufficient understanding for higher spheres of action, he seems, and indeed in such a reign it was a proof of his sagacity, to have adopted by choice the character of a mere courtier; but he moved in it with a rare dignity, and envy, malice, and duplicity seem to have been unknown to him. "The gallants of the Court," says

Lord Herbert, in his history of the year 1513, "finding now the King's favour shining manifestly on Wolsey, applied themselves much to him; and especially Charles Brandon, who, for his goodly person, courage, and conformity of disposition, was noted to be most acceptable to the King in all his exercises and pastimes." This is the sole record against him of any thing like subservience or flattery.

Henry, on mounting the throne, appointed him one of the Esquires of the Body, and Chamberlain of the Principality of Wales. In 1513 he first appeared in warlike service; was present in that desperate action with a French squadron which occurred early in the spring of that year off Brest; and on his return was created a Peer, by the title of Viscount L'Isle. That dignity was conferred on him on the fifteenth of May, and on the last day of June he embarked with Henry on that invasion of France which was distinguished by the successful siege of Therouënne, and by the action vulgarly called the Battle of Spurs, in a supposed allusion to the swiftness with which the French fled from the field, but which in fact obtained its name from the village of Spours, near which it was fought. He commanded the vanguard of the English army in that service, after which he marched with the King into Flanders, where, having reduced Tournay, they were met at Lisle, and splendidly entertained by the Emperor Maximilian. Here he is said not only to have made some impression on the heart of that monarch's daughter, the Archduchess Margaret, but even to have aspired to her hand. "I find," says Herbert again, "some overture of a match between Charles Brandon, now Lord Lisle, and the princess Margaret; which, though it took no effect, was not yet without much demonstration of outward grace and favour on her part." He was destined however to obtain a consort yet more illustrious. The Princess Mary second sister to Henry, had been married in the autumn of 1514 to Louis the Twelfth of France; a political union of youth and beauty to debilitated old age. Brandon, now Duke of

Suffolk, having been so created on the first of the preceding February, was sent, with the flower of the English nobility, to grace the nuptials: and it has been said, that his skill and courage in the justs which formed a part of the celebration, and which chanced to be contended with more than usual fierceness, captivated the affections of the Queen. It is more reasonable however to suppose, nor is the conjecture altogether unsupported by historical evidence, that she had flattered his hopes long before she quitted England. Be the fact as it may, the good Louis died within three months after his marriage, and his youthful Dowager, within very few days after, was secretly married to the Duke of Suffolk, which ceremony was publickly repeated soon after at Calais, and, finally, at Greenwich, on the thirteenth of May, 1515.

It is difficult to reconcile Henry's conduct to his character with regard to this affair. He made at first a slight shew of resentment, but was presently appeased, and the return of his favour was accompanied by a grant to the Duke of the great estates which had formerly belonged to Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk. Is it possible that friendship and love could have extorted this tribute from haughtiness and tyranny, or was it the result of mere policy, cold in its motives, and accidentally just in its consequence? We can perhaps have no better clue to the solution of the question than in Lord Herbert's account of this, the most important circumstance of the Duke's life, which take in the words of the historian, who, in speaking of the treaty of peace then pending with France, for which Suffolk was the first plenipotentiary, concludes thus—"Together with the proposing of this treaty, our King sent a letter to the Queen, his sister, wherein he desired to know how she stood affected to her return to England; desiring her withal not to match without his consent. She, on the other side, who had privately engaged her affections to Charles, Duke of Suffolk, made no great difficulty to discover herself to both Kings," (meaning Francis the First, who had succeeded her late husband, and her brother Henry) "intreating

Francis to mediate this marriage, and our King to approve it. Unto the former Francis easily agreed, though once intending to propose a match between her and the Duke of Savoy; but our King, for the conservation of his dignity, held a little off: however, he had long since designed her to Suffolk. The Queen also, believing that this formality was the greatest impediment, did not proceed without some scruple, though protesting, as appears by an original, that if the King would have her married in any place save where her mind was, she would shut herself up in some religious house. Thus, without any great pomp, being secretly married, the Queen writ letters of excuse to the King her brother, taking the fault, if any were, on herself: and together for the more clearing the Duke of Suffolk, professed that she prefixed the space of four days to him, in which, she said, unless he could obtain her good will, he should be out of all hope of enjoying her: whereby, as also through the good office of Francis, who, fearing that our King by her means should contract some greater alliance, did further this marriage, our King did by degrees restore them to his favour; Wolsey also not a little contributing thereto, while he told our King how much better bestowed she was on him than on some person of quality in France." Suffolk, in addition to the probable advantages of this affinity to the throne, derived immense wealth from his marriage to Mary. Her jointure was sixty thousand crowns annually, and the personal property which she was allowed to bring to England was estimated at two hundred thousand, together with a celebrated diamond, of immense price, called " le Miroir de Naples."

In 1515, on some occasion of disgust between him and Wolsey, he retired for a considerable time into the country: but Henry loved him too well to sacrifice him to the favourite, and the duke, on his part, had too much nobleness of spirit to oppose Wolsey by any other means than those of an honest and open resentment, which seems ever after to have subsisted. He returned to the Court with unimpaired favour: was among the first of Henry's

gallant companions in the romantic festivities of 1520, which distinguished the King's famous interview with Francis the First in Picardy: and in 1523 invaded France at the head of twelve thousand men. The circumstances of that expedition afford a curious proof of the imperfection of the military œconomy of those days, even in the two greatest military powers of Europe: for, while the utmost efforts of the French were insufficient to prevent that small force, aided by eight thousand Germans, from penetrating within eleven leagues of Paris, Suffolk, on the other hand, having gained that mighty advantage, found himself obliged to retrace his steps precipitately to Calais, to save his men from dying of hunger. Henry was highly displeased at this retreat, and the Duke wisely deferred his voyage to England till he had appeased his master's choler.

In the eventful period which shortly followed he became unavoidably an actor in the great scenes which distinguished it. He was a witness in 1529 in the enquiry on which the King grounded his claim of divorce from Catherine; subscribed to the articles preferred by the Parliament against Wolsey; and also to the declaration addressed by the Peers in the same Parliament to Pope Clement the Seventh, by which they threatened to abolish the supremacy of the Holy See in England, should the Pontiff deny his consent to the dissolution of the marriage. He fell indeed into all the measures which led to the reformation with a readiness which, if it were not the result of insincerity, might perhaps, at best, be ascribed to an indifference as to all modes of religious faith; and Henry afterwards rewarded his compliance by grants of abbey lands to a vast amount. In 1536 he commanded the troops which were then hastily raised to march against the insurgents of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire; and in 1544 once more attended Henry to France, and was appointed General of the army sent to besiege Boulogne, which he reduced after a siege of six weeks. His health was probably at that time declining, for he made his will immediately before his departure,

and died on the fourteenth of August, in the following year. By that instrument, which is dated the twentieth of June, 1544, he orders that a cup of gold should be made of his collar of the Garter, and given to the King; that the ceremonies of his funeral should be conducted with a frugality and plainness very unusual at that time; to use his own words, " without any pomp, or outward pride of the world;" and that his body should be buried in the collegiate church of Tatteshall, in Lincolnshire. He was interred, however, with great magnificence, by the special command of the King, and at his charge, in St. George's Chapel at Windsor.

The Duke, at the time of his death, held the posts of Chief Justice in Eyre of all the King's Forests, and Great Master (or, as we now say, Lord Steward) of the Royal Household, and these appear to have been the only public appointments of note that were at any time conferred on him. He had been four times married. First, to Margaret, daughter of John Neville, Marquis Montacute, and widow of Sir John Mortimer, from whom he was divorced, apparently at her suit, because he had, previously to their nuptials, privately signed a contract of marriage with Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Browne, Lieutenant of Calais. He took that Lady to his second wife, and had by her two daughters; Anne, born before marriage, who became the wife of Edward, Lord Powis; and Mary, who married Thomas, Lord Monteagle. The Queen Dowager of France brought him a son, Henry, who was created Earl of Lincoln, and died young; and two daughters, Eleanor, wife of Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, and Frances, married, first to Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, and then to Adrian Stokes. By his fourth Lady, Catherine, daughter and heir of William Lord Willoughby of Eresby, he had two sons, Henry and Charles, who survived him only for the space of six years, for they died of the sweating sickness, at the Bishop of Lincoln's palace at Bugden, on the same day, the fourteenth of July, 1551.

The original of the following short letter from the Duke, and

his last Duchess, to Lord Cobham, then Governor of Calais, is in the Harleian collection. I insert it merely as a specimen of the familiar epistolary style of him who was esteemed the most polite nobleman of his time.

" After my right hartie comendac~ons to yo^{r} good Lordshipp, w^{t} like thanks aswell for yo^{r} gentell lr~e dyrected to me from Callays of the xviith of this instant, as also for yo^{r} qwailes, which this p~sent mornyng I have receyved by yo^{r} servant. And where you desier to knowe in what p~t in Kent I shall remayn, to th'entent you wold from tyme to tyme signifye to me of such newes as be currant ther, for yo^{r} soo doing I geve unto you most harty thanks. For aunswere wherunto you shall understand that, as far as I knowe yet, I shall demure in this town: but, whersoev^{r} I shall be, you shall have knowlege therof from tyme to tyme. I fynde myself moch beholding to my Lady, yo^{r} bedfellow, who hath sent me venison, and made me good chere.

" Also, as tuching Lightmaker; for a complaynt that he shuld make: By my trouth, my Lord, beleve me he nev^{r} complayned to me of any suche mattr; but indede he told me that the displeashur that was was for that another of his countrey wold have taken away his men; and, as long as he shall behave hymself honestly, I hartley desier you to beare and owe unto hym yo^{r} good wyll and favor, for my sake; and, yf he doo otherwyse, then to be unto hym no woorse thenne you wold be to another. Thus fare yo^{r} Lordshipp right hartely well. From Rochester, the xixth of June.

Yo^{r} Lordshipp's assured freend,

Charlys Suffolke."

" My Lord,

Wth my harté thankes for yo^{r} gentle remembrans, I lekewys mayk to you my harté comendesens.

Yo^{r} pouer frend,

Katherine Suffoulk."

Engraved by Thos. Wright.

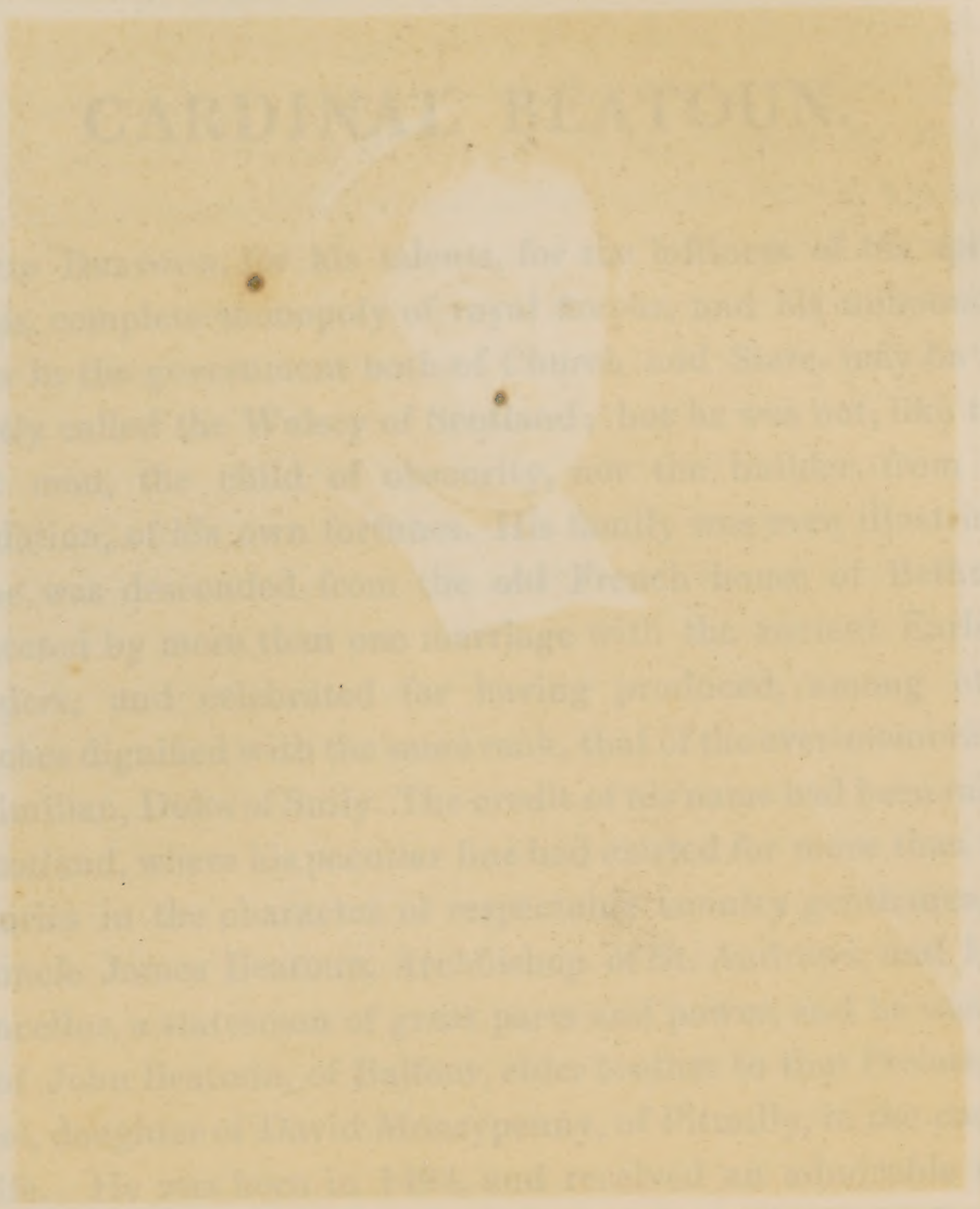
CARDINAL BEATOUN.

OB. 1546.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION AT

HOLYROOD PALACE, EDINBURGH.

London, Published Nov. 1, 1829, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



CARDINAL BEATOUN.

David Beatoun, for his talents, for the loftiness of his spirit, for his complete monopoly of royal favour, and his unbounded power in the government both of Church and State, may be not unaptly called the Wolsey of Scotland; but he was not, like that great man, the child of obscurity, nor the builder, from the foundation, of his own fortunes. His family was even illustrious, for he was descended from the old French house of Bethune, connected by more than one marriage with the ancient Earls of Flanders, and celebrated for having produced, among other branches dignified with the same rank, that of the ever-memorable, Maximilian, Duke of Sully. The credit of his name had been raised in Scotland, where his peculiar line had existed for more than two centuries in the character of respectable country gentlemen, by his uncle James Beatoun, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Lord Chancellor, a statesman of great parts and power, and he was the son of John Beatoun, of Balfour, elder brother to that Prelate, by Isabel, daughter of David Moneypenny, of Pitmilly, in the county of Fife. He was born in 1494, and received an admirable education at home, and in the university of St. Andrews, under the eye of his uncle, who sent him, when approaching manhood, to France, with the double view of completely qualifying him in the university of Paris for the ecclesiastical profession, and of introducing him advantageously to the Duke of Albany, who resided in that country, and who was then about to accept the office of Regent of Scotland during the minority of his great nephew, James the fifth. Both objects were attained. David gained the highest credit by the success of his studies, and the Duke employed him, even while he was prosecuting them, in

several affairs at the Court of France in which the public interests of Scotland were involved, and, upon the death in 1519 of the Scottish resident minister in Paris, appointed him to that office. His uncle in the mean time laboured with the most affectionate zeal to advance him at home, and, on being translated in 1523 from the Archbishopric of Glasgow to the Primacy, resigned the rich and mitred abbey of Aberbrothock; prevailed on the Regent to give it to his nephew; and on the Pope to grant him for two years a dispensation, waving the forms of acceptance required by the Church, in order that he might perform without interruption his diplomatic duties at Paris.

He returned, and took his seat in the Parliament, in 1525. During his mission important changes had occurred in the government; the Regent had been displaced, and the Primate deprived of the office of Chancellor, and driven into retirement by the party headed by the Earl of Angus, husband of the Queen Mother, but Beatoun's prospects seem to have been in no degree clouded by those circumstances, for he had not been many weeks in Scotland when he was appointed by the Parliament one of the six members from that body to whom the charge of the King's person and education was specially committed. Younger, more polite, and perhaps more artful, than his colleagues, it is not strange that the youthful James should have selected him from them for his companion and confident. As the mind of the King advanced to maturity, to these lighter impressions was added the weight of Beatoun's splendid and commanding abilities, and motives of policy soon after intervened on either side to consummate the ascendancy which he at length gained. In the mean time Angus, who had governed not only the realm but the King with a controul too sharp and haughty to be lasting, was overthrown by one of those sudden turns at that time so frequent in his country; the Primate returned, not to resume his former power in the State, but to endeavour to obtain it for his nephew, whom he now named as his coadjutor, and whom the King presently after placed

in the office of Lord Privy Seal. That appointment, which under the Scottish monarchy actually invested him who held it with all the confidence which its denomination implies, was conferred on Beatoun in 1528, and from that period he was considered to be, as in fact he was, the King's chief minister and favourite.

Scotland was then divided into two powerful and furious factions; the French, which included nearly all the clergy, and consequently a great majority of those of the common people who were not subject to the bond of clanship; and the English, consisting of a formidable number of the nobility, some of whom were actuated by personal enmity to individuals of the Court or Council; others by an habitual jealousy of foreigners; and not a few by the bribes of Henry the eighth. The young King and Beatoun became mutually attached to the former party; the one from his sincere devotion to the ancient faith, and the horror with which he regarded the efforts directed against it by his uncle King Henry, to which seems to have been added an earnest desire to marry a Princess of France; the other, because he had entered into secret engagements with Francis the first, to secure to him a lasting alliance with Scotland, and had received from that Prince in return the most solemn assurances of friendship and favour. With these predispositions both in master and servant, James in 1533 dispatched him to Paris, professedly to demand in marriage the Princess Magdalen, sister to the King, but he was privately charged with business of higher importance, and seems in this mission to have negotiated and concluded a secret treaty with Francis, and in some measure with the Emperor, and the Pope, for the protection of the Catholic religion, and necessarily therefore in opposition to all the views then entertained by our Henry. He returned fully successful in all that he had undertaken, but the marriage was postponed in consequence of the ill state of health of the Princess at that time, nor was it celebrated till 1536, when James attended by Beatoun, made a long visit to the Court of France, and wedded her in person.

The young Queen died within two months after her arrival in Scotland, and the King anxious to avoid reiterated offers from Henry and the Emperor of the hand of the Princess Mary of England, sent Beatoun again to the French Court, with proposals to Mary of Lorraine, daughter to the Duke of Guise. During this negotiation, which seems to have occupied some considerable time, he received at length publicly the strongest marks of Francis's partiality. In November 1537 that Prince signed an ordinance permitting him to hold benifices, and purchase estates, in France, and presently after bestowed on him the rich Bishopric of Mirepoix, in Upper Languedoc. He returned in the following July, bringing with him the new Queen. His uncle, the Archbishop, who had become infirm, timid, and indolent, had for some years privately delegated to him almost the whole authority of the Primacy, but the natural mildness of that Prelate sometimes interposed to moderate the zeal of the Coadjutor: the reigning Pope, Paul the third, on the other hand, determined to encourage it. Hoping yet to retain to the Holy See the allegiance of Scotland, and anxious therefore to place without delay at the head of her Church a man at once wise, resolute, and active, as well as sincerely devoted to the Papacy, he selected Beatoun for that service. Willing however to leave to so ancient and faithful a son as the Primate at least the name of his dignity, the Pontiff devised the means of giving him a superior without depriving him of his See, by raising his nephew to the dignity of a Cardinal. He was elected to the Purple on the twentieth of December, 1538, and within a few months after succeeded, on the death of his uncle, to the Archbishopric of St. Andrews.

He now pressed for a special legantine commission, but the Pope answered that the Primacy annexed to his See constituted him what in the language of the Church was termed " Legatus natus," and invested him with sufficient ecclesiastical authority in Scotland. James, who had at first seconded with earnestness his suit for that distinction, seems to have desisted at the instance

of Henry. That Prince, who now considered Beatoun as a formidable adversary, had lately dispatched to Scotland Sir Ralph Sadleir, a minister not less remarkable for fidelity than acuteness, for the sole purpose of effecting his ruin, and James, though he refused with a laudable firmness, to listen to insinuations against a favourite servant which were not only malicious but ungrounded, perhaps yet deemed it prudent to concede in this single instance to the angry feelings of his uncle. A most exact and curious recital of Sadleir's conversations with James on the subjects of his mission, highly creditable as well to the heart as to the understanding of the Scottish Prince, may be found in a letter of great length from the Ambassador to his master, in the publication of " Sadleir's State Papers."

The conduct of Beatoun under this disappointment amply proved that his attachment to the Romish Church, and to its head, was not to be shaken by any selfish considerations. He determined to prove the degree of that power which the Pope had decided to be sufficient, and in the spring of 1540 went to St. Andrews with a pomp and splendor which had never before been used by any Primate of Scotland, attended by a numerous train of the first nobility and gentry; by the Archbishop of Glasgow, Lord Chancellor; many other Prelates; and nearly the whole body of the clergy. Having arrived there, he convened them in a sort of general ecclesiastical council, under his presidency, in the cathedral; represented to them the imminent perils which threatened the Church; and laid before them the measures which he had devised for its defence. His suggestions were received with unanimous approbation, and processes were not only instituted, even in their first sitting, against several of the reformers, but a sentence of confiscation and the stake was passed on a Sir John Borthwick, one of the most distinguished among them, who, on having been previously cited to appear before this assembly, had fled into England, where he was gladly received by Henry, and soon after employed by that Prince in a mission on the affairs of the reformation to the

Protestant Courts of Germany. Borthwick was burned in effigy, his goods seized, and all intercourse with him prohibited under pain of excommunication. The Cardinal, thus encouraged, proceeded with vigour against the enemies of his Church, and, naturally enough, incurred from them the denomination and odium of a persecutor, which those who may take the trouble to disentangle the truth from the jarring and obscure historical accounts of that time, will find to have been very unjustly cast on him. The most romantic tales have been told of his furious severity. The celebrated Buchanan, who had been charged with heresy, and confined, and who, as a grave writer ridiculously observes, "would certainly have been put to death, had he not escaped out of prison," tells us that Beatoun had presented to the King a roll of three hundred and sixty of the principal nobility and gentry of Scotland as proper objects of prosecution; and in another part of his history cites a circumstance which will be presently mentioned, to shew the enormous cruelty of his natural disposition. Neither of these reports are in any degree supported by any other writer of that time; but the best apology for Beatoun's memory with respect to such charges is in the historical fact that only four or five persons suffered death on the score of religious difference during his long government of the Church of Scotland.

Certain too it is that as his influence over the mind of the King, his master, was unbounded, so was his choice of means by which to stem the torrent of the reformation wholly uncontrouled. In all political as well as religious affairs James obeyed him with the subserviency of a pupil. When Henry the eighth proposed a conference with that Prince, early in his reign, at York, James, anxious to maintain peace with his uncle, and curious to behold the splendid novelties of the English Court, eagerly accepted the invitation. The time for the meeting was fixed, and all arrangements made for his journey, when Beatoun suddenly interposed his authority, and compelled the King, to the great offence of

Henry, to break the appointment, and prepare for war. With yet more facility he induced his master to that invasion of England in 1542, which ended in the terrible overthrow of the Scots on Solway Moss. James, who survived that great misfortune but for a few weeks, is said by most historians to have died of a broken heart, occasioned by his bitter reflections on it, while a few obscure writers have insinuated that the Cardinal destroyed him by poison, a slander invented in the blindness of malice, and utterly rejected by the sobriety of common sense. His influence over James subsisted to the last hour of that Prince's life. Beatoun persuaded him, a few hours before his dissolution, to sign a will, nominating himself, and the Earls of Argyll, Huntly, and Arran, a Council of Regency, to govern the Kingdom in the name of the infant Mary. The validity of this instrument, which had been solemnly proclaimed in Edinburgh, was presently questioned by the English faction, and soon after annulled, on the coarse and ready pretence that it had been forged by the Cardinal. No steps were taken to prove this charge, and indeed it seems to have been a mere invention, to apologise for depriving him of that power which was now to fall for a time into the hands of his enemies. He was stripped accordingly of all authority in the government, and in a manner banished to his diocese, and James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, who was presumptive heir to the Crown, was, in the spring of 1543, chosen by the Parliament sole Regent.

The first step made by the party which had thus gained the ascendancy was to entertain a proposal made by Henry for the marriage of his son, Edward, to Mary, then in her cradle. To this of all public measures, it was known that Beatoun would be most averse. It was determined therefore, before it came to be discussed in Parliament, to prevent his attendance in that assembly, and he was suddenly seized, and imprisoned in the castle of Blackness. His conduct now unveiled the seemingly magical power which he had so long exercised, the simple result of transcendent faculties of mind, and of a courageous heart. This superiority

ensured to him, in an age comparatively artless, the attachment of many of the first men in Scotland, who bowed instinctively to his mighty talents, and were now ready to obey his mandates, though issued through the grates of a prison. To these natural means was added the weight of his ecclesiastical influence. Arran, a weak and irresolute man, terrified at the boldness of the measure which he had been made the instrument of executing, was easily prevailed on to connive at the Cardinal's removal to St. Andrews by the Lord Seaton, to whose custody he had been committed, and whom he had gained to his interest. There, still in some measure in the character of a prisoner, he summoned a meeting of the clergy; vehemently excited their opposition to the English marriage, as the only means of preserving the Church: and, with little difficulty, engaged them to raise money for the equipment of troops, should force become necessary for the attainment of their object. Meanwhile he concerted measures with the Earls of Huntly, Argyll, Bothwell, and Murray, for gaining possession of the persons of the young Queen, and the Queen Dowager, who were accordingly carried off by those noblemen from Linlithgow to Stirling, and for preventing the meeting of the Parliament, in which they failed. It was convened on the 25th of August, 1543, and ratified under the great seal the treaties with England for a peace, and for the marriage, in concert with the Regent, who set out on the following day to St. Andrews, where he proclaimed the Cardinal a rebel, and in the same week met him privately, received absolution at his hands, and surrendered himself implicitly to his direction.

Beatoun, for the short remainder of his life, swayed the will of the Regent with a power even more unlimited than that to which the late King had submitted. Very soon after their reconciliation, Gawen Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, who had held the office of Chancellor for seventeen years with the highest reputation, was compelled to relinquish it to the Cardinal, who resigned that of the Privy Seal, in favour of John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley, to

whose influence over Arran, his natural brother, he had been much indebted in the late singular political revolution. A single step remained at once to fulfil the dearest wish of his heart, and to crown the triumph of his ambition. He demanded of the Regent to solicit for him at the Court of Rome the appointment of Legate à latere. The request was made, and seems to have been granted, without hesitation, and he was raised to that superb ecclesiastical station on the thirtieth of January, 1543, O. S. by the same Pope who had formerly denied it to him. He commenced without delay the exercise of the extensive faculties with which it had invested him; held a solemn visitation to his own diocese, attended by the Regent, and others of the highest public functions in the realm, to enquire into the state of religious opinions and practices; endeavoured to reclaim the moderate reformers by arguments and threats; and proceeded with severity against a few self-devoted zealots whose furious demeanour had left him no choice but to abandon them or his church to inevitable destruction. At Perth five persons, of the lowest order, were put to death, not for espousing the doctrines of the reformation, but for having insulted by the grossest indecencies the established worship of the land. On his return, he convened an assembly of the Clergy at Edinburgh, which he opened with a speech of distinguished impartiality. Christianity, he said, laboured under the greatest peril, for which he knew but two remedies, each of which he had resolved to administer; the one, a vigorous prosecution of those who professed or encouraged the new modes of faith; the other, a reformation of the scandalous and immoral lives of the catholic clergy, which had furnished an ample pretext for separation.

Had he proceeded no further he might have escaped the censure of persecution from the many protestant writers, for we have no account of him from the pens of those of his own Church, who have given that colour to his character; but he now determined to attack the leader of the Scottish reformers, and it was

for his prosecution of George Wishart that they consigned his name to the most lasting odium. Wishart was a person of considerable talents and learning, a persuasive and indefatigable preacher, and a man of the most exemplary morals. His conduct exhibited, together with the most overheated zeal, a mildness and patience of temper, and an innocency of manners and conversation that not only recommended, but endeared, him to all with whom he could obtain intercourse. The Church of Rome could not have had a more formidable enemy, nor could there perhaps have been found among its opponents any other man so certain of deriving from extremity of punishment the title of martyr. Beatoun, who had long beheld his progress with increasing uneasiness, at length prevailed with the Regent to issue an order for his apprehension, and is said to have accompanied the Earl of Bothwell into East Lothian, of which county that nobleman was hereditary sheriff, to ensure its success. Wishart was conducted to the Castle of Edinburgh, from whence, at the request of the Queen dowager, who always adhered to the Cardinal, the Regent directed that he should be transferred to St. Andrews, where Beatoun immediately prepared for his trial, and summoned the Prelates of the realm to assemble there for that purpose on the twenty-seventh of February, 1545, O. S. It was suggested at their first meeting, to lessen the responsibility of the clergy, that application should be made to the Regent to grant a special commission constituting some eminent layman to preside, to which the Cardinal agreed. Arran was at first willing to concede this point, but, on the advice of a zealous protestant, to which persuasion indeed he was himself inclined, he returned, to use the words of Spotswood, this answer, " That the Cardinal would do well not to precipitate the man's trial, but to delay it until his coming; for, as to himself, he would not consent to his death before the cause were well examined; and if the Cardinal should do otherwise, he would make protestation that the man's blood should be required at his hands." Beatoun, enraged at this perhaps

first instance of the Regent's resistance to any dictate of his, rejoined, adds Spotswood, " that he wrote not unto the Governor as though he depended in any matter upon his authority, but out of a desire he had that the heretic's condemnation might proceed with a shew of public consent, which since he could not obtain, he would be doing himself that which he held most fitting." Wishart was accordingly tried on eighteen articles by the Prelates, and condemned to be burned. The sentence was executed at St. Andrews on the second of March, in the presence, says Buchanan, of the Cardinal, " who sat opposite to the stake, in a balcony hung with tapestry and silk hangings, to behold and take pleasure in the joyful sight;" while the sufferer cried, from the midst of the flames, " he who now so proudly looks down on me from yonder lofty place shall ere long be as ignominiously thrown down as now he proudly lolls at his ease." These circumstances, so memorable, are not mentioned by any writers except Buchanan, and those who have copied from or quoted him, and there is little doubt that the barbarous triumph of the Cardinal, and the prophecy of the martyr, are mere creatures of his invention.

The Cardinal's death indeed occurred so speedily after that of Wishart, and from circumstances so strange and unexpected, that, had such a prognostication really been uttered, all Europe, in an age so fond and credulous of wonders, would have rung with the fame of it's accomplishment. Beatoun, universally envied for his greatness; constantly detested by a powerful party in the State; by another not less formidable in the Church; and by a neighbouring Potentate as remarkable for a vindictive spirit as for his freedom from all scruples of conscience with regard to the means of gratifying it; was destined to fall by the hands of assassins, actuated by motives of anger for private causes. On the twenty-ninth of May, 1546, five gentlemen, Norman Lesley, eldest son, and John Lesley, brother, to the Earl of Rothes; William Kirkaldy of Grange, Peter Carmichael of Fife, and James Melville; having previously concerted their plan with great

circumspection, entered the castle of St. Andrews, early in the morning, with very few followers. Having secured the porter, by whom, as he well knew all of them, they had been readily admitted within the walls, they appointed, says Spotswood, "four of their company to watch the chamber where the Cardinal lay, that no advertisement should go unto him, and then went to the several chambers in which the servants lay asleep, and, calling them by their names, for they were all known unto them, they put fifty of his ordinary servants, besides the workmen, masons, and wrights, who were reckoned above a hundred (for he was then fortifying the castle) to the gate, permitting none to stay within but the Governor's eldest son, whom they thought best to detain upon all adventures. This was performed with so little noise as the Cardinal did not hear till they knocked at his chamber. Then he asked who was there? John Lesley answered 'my name is Lesley.' 'Which Lesley,' said the Cardinal, 'is that, Norman?' It was answered that he must open to those that were there. The answer gave him notice that they were no friends, therefore, making the door fast, he refused to open. They calling to bring fire, while it was in fetching he began to commune with them, and, after some speeches, upon their promise to use no violence, he opened the door, but they, rushing in with their swords drawn, did most inhumanly kill him, he not making any resistance."

Thus fell perhaps the greatest man, in almost every point of consideration, that his country ever produced. His vast talents and his consequent power have combined to preserve that regular chain of the circumstances of his public life of which I have here attempted to give an abstract, while the history of many of his contemporaries who held high offices in the State is almost unknown. In the story of one of whom so much has been told, and that too by his enemies, it is at all events unlikely that any just dispraise should have been omitted, and it must be confessed that, with the exception of some religious severities, his public conduct has been left free of blame. Of his private character less is known.

He publicly indulged in a licentiousness not uncommon with the eminent clergy of his time, and lived in open concubinage with a lady of a noble family, Marian Ogilvie, by whom he had six children, of which his eldest daughter was married a few weeks before his death to the heir of the then Earl of Crawford, and respectable descendants from some of the others yet remain in Scotland. Some Latin works of his pen are said to remain in manuscript. An Account of his Negotiations with the King of France, and the Pope; a Treatise of the Supremacy of St. Peter over the other Apostles; and a Collection of his Speeches and Discourses on several occasions.

Engraved by J. Cochran.

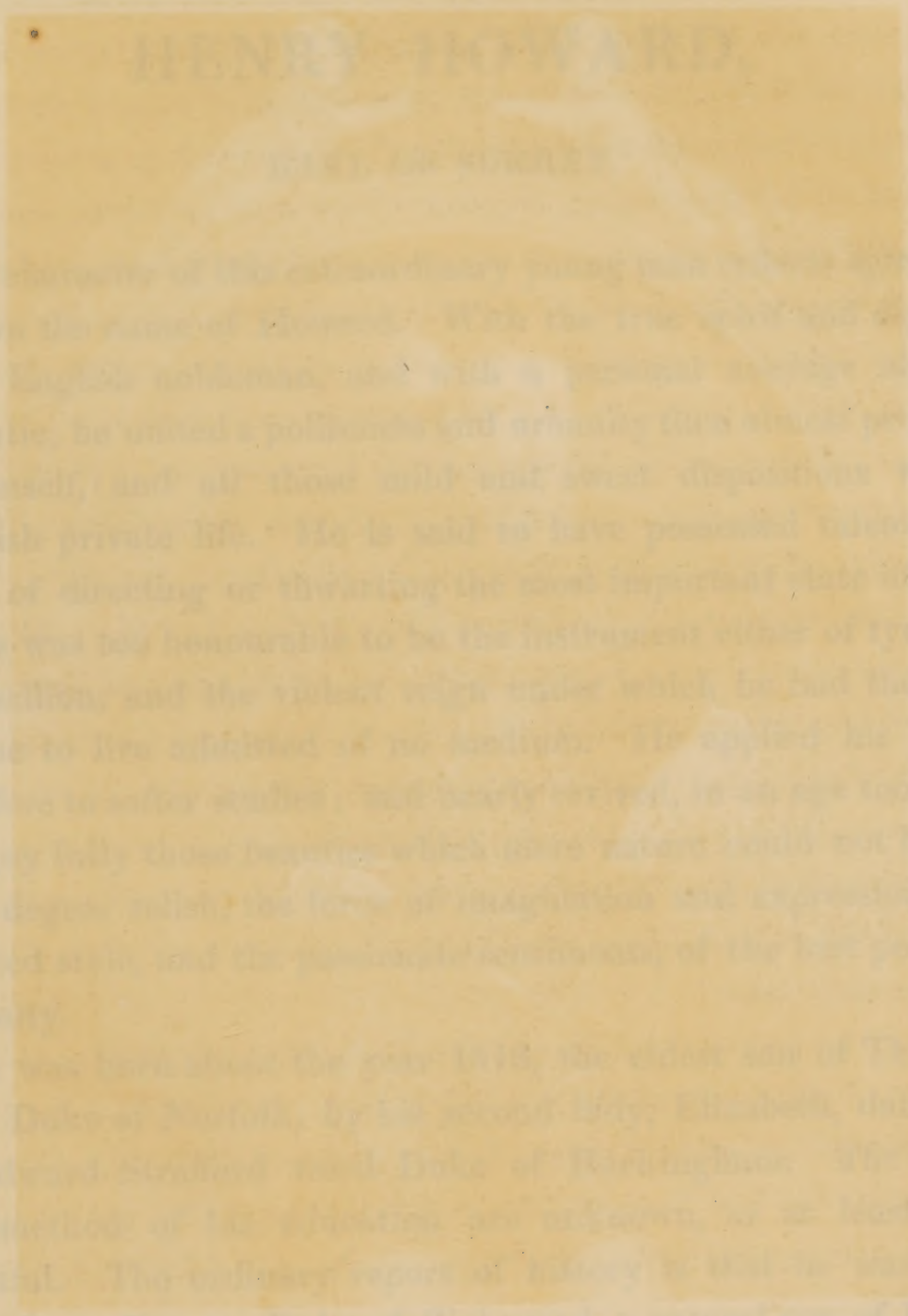
HENRY HOWARD, EARL OF SURREY.

OB. 1547.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

London, Published Oct.r 1, 1834, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



HENRY HOWARD,

EARL OF SURREY.

The character of this extraordinary young man reflects splendor even on the name of Howard. With the true spirit and dignity of an English nobleman, and with a personal courage almost romantic, he united a politeness and urbanity then almost peculiar to himself, and all those mild and sweet dispositions which blandish private life. He is said to have possessed talents capable of directing or thwarting the most important state affairs; but he was too honourable to be the instrument either of tyranny or rebellion, and the violent reign under which he had the misfortune to live admitted of no medium. He applied his mind therefore to softer studies; and nearly revived, in an age too rude to enjoy fully those beauties which mere nature could not but in some degree relish, the force of imagination and expression, the polished style, and the passionate sentiments, of the best poets of antiquity.

He was born about the year 1518, the eldest son of Thomas, third Duke of Norfolk, by his second lady, Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Strafford third Duke of Buckingham. The place and method of his education are unknown, or at least very doubtful. The ordinary report of history is that he was bred with Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, a natural son of Henry the eighth, with whom he certainly contracted an early and strict friendship, and to whom his sister was afterwards married. Anthony Wood says that he was a student of Christ Church, but the name of neither of these young noblemen is to be found in the records of the university. On the thirteenth of February, 1532, he was contracted in marriage to Frances, daughter of John de Vere, fifteenth Earl of Oxford; and in the succeeding

year was in the glittering train which attended the King to his celebrated meeting on the French coast with Francis the first. Henry on the very day of his return from that brief expedition was married to Anne Boleyn. She was first cousin to Surrey, the magnificence of whose family views seemed now to be consummated by this superb alliance which was to be so soon, and so mournfully broken. He appears however to have avoided all ostentation of the fruits of these advantages, and to have lived for some years in modest retirement, attending to his domestic duties, for his marriage was now compleated, and he had a son, and sacrificing at his leisure largely to the muse. In this long interval we scarcely hear of him, except as an attendant, in the character of Deputy Earl Marshal, on the Duke, his father, when that nobleman presided as Lord High Steward on the trial of his kinswoman, the unfortunate Anne, in 1536; and as one of the chief mourners at the funeral, in the following year, of her successor, Jane Seymour. Yet this was the period which many writers, misled by some erroneous authority, represent him as having passed in Italy, in amours and in triumphs which an industrious editor of his works has of late years proved to be wholly imaginary.

In the spring of 1541 he peculiarly distinguished himself in the justs and tournaments instituted in honour of the marriage of Henry to Anne of Cleve, and in the autumn of the same year we find him in his first public employment. On some hostile demonstrations on the part of France, he was joined in commission with the Earl of Southampton, and the Lord Russell, to visit, and enquire into the state of defence of, the English possessions on that coast. A singular contrast of circumstances occurred to him presently after his return—on the twenty-third of April, 1542, he was invested with the Order of the Garter; and on the thirteenth of the succeeding July was imprisoned in the Fleet, on the ground of a desperate quarrel with a private gentleman, and remained closely confined for some weeks, when he was released,

on submitting to be bound to keep the peace in the then great sum of ten thousand marks; nor was this the only feud in which he was engaged about that time. Such contests were then of almost daily occurrence among young men of rank, and furnished no argument either of ill temper or ill manners. Personal courage was their cardinal virtue, and in days of public peace they had no other means of evincing that they possessed it. The time however approached for his giving proofs more graceful and becoming. He had hitherto seen no military service but in a predatory incursion of a few days on the Scottish border, in which he accompanied his father. In the mean while however, we find him once more a prisoner in the Fleet, and on charges, or rather on one charge, so wild and extravagant as to remind us instantly of the often-quoted line of the poet—"Great wit to madness," &c. In the spring of 1543, Surrey was accused to the Privy Council, by the Lord Mayor and Recorder of London, of having eaten flesh in Lent, and this he answered effectually by pleading a dispensation. But it was added that he had been accustomed to traverse the streets of London in the dead of night, to break windows by shots from his cross-bow. He acknowledged the truth of the charge, but his defence was yet more strange than his fault. He alledged that he had done so in the hope of correcting the licentious and corrupt manners of the citizens, by impressing them with the idea that such attacks, by means unheard and unseen, were supernatural warnings from providence of impending vengeance. No writer durst repeat this most extravagant tale were it not verified by Surrey himself in one of his poems, and even by the grave authority of the original minutes of the Privy Council yet extant.

His durance was probably of very short continuance, for in the succeeding July he made his first active military essay as a volunteer in the troops sent, under the command of Sir John Wallop, to aid the Emperor in his invasion of France, and was present in the unsuccessful siege of Landrecy. That General, in

a dispatch to Paget, the Secretary of State, says "my Lord of Surrey hath lost no time since his arrival at the army, for he visiteth all things that be meet for a man of war to look upon for his learning, and such a siege hath not been seen this long time in these partes." Thus qualified by some experience, and abundant inclination, he was appointed Marshal of the army with which Henry invaded France in the summer of 1544, of which the Duke his father, commanded the vanguard. In this formidable expedition, which the King professed to direct immediately against the capital, but in which he merely meditated the capture of Boulogne, Surrey was equally distinguished in several partial actions by his prudence and bravery, till he was at length borne off the field, desperately, and, as it was believed, mortally wounded. He again passed over to the French coast in the end of the following summer, where he found a body of three thousand troops, who were directed to put themselves under his command. He was appointed Governor of Guisnes, and then of Boulogne, which with surprising activity he put into that state of defence which it's importance demanded. His vigilance was unceasing, as was his success in the enterprises which he almost daily undertook against the French quarters in his neighbourhood. He seemed to have gained the confidence of Henry, with whom he was allowed to correspond immediately on the conduct of the war, when a check which he suddenly received in an action with their main body, near Montreuil, where the English infantry, which he that day personally commanded, basely abandoned him, gave great offence to that capricious Prince. No expression of anger however immediately occurred, but he was soon after virtually superseded by the appointment of Seymour, Earl of Hertford, to the chief command in France, and received intimation that the King desired to confer with him on the state of Boulogne, which he had no sooner left than a successor in the government of that town was appointed, and soon after his arrival in London, he was sent a prisoner to Windsor Castle.

Such has been the received report of this precise period of Surrey's life, but more modern enquiry has brought to light many unconnected notices which lead us to infer that his partial military failure was probably but a secondary cause of disgust in the irregular mind of his master. The most remarkable of these are contained in a letter from the Duke, his father, to the Lords of the Council, in which he requests them to thank the King for having advertised him of his son's "foolish demeanour;" and adds "well, I pray God he may often remember, and not trust too much to his own wit;" and "I desire you that my son may be so earnestly handled that he may have regard hereafter so to use himself that he may give his Majesty no cause of discontent." It is almost needless to observe that these passages could not by possibility have been meant to refer to any fault or fortune in his military conduct. The true import of them will probably ever remain unknown. In the mean time it has been thought that Hertford, then the rising favourite, and of consequence jealous of the Howards, had prejudiced the King against him. Certain it is that Surrey, irritated to the utmost by the revocation of his command in France, had indulged in bitter and contemptuous remarks and sarcasms on Hertford, to whose influence he ascribed it, and had even menaced him with revenge under a new reign, a threat most offensive to Henry, whose health was then daily declining; and Hertford is supposed to have heard and repeated those speeches to the King. These however are but conjectures: all that can be safely affirmed is that amidst this obscurity the downfall of Surrey originated.

His restraint in Windsor Castle was short. We find him afterwards a party in several Court ceremonies in the presence of the King, who is recorded to have treated him on those occasions with complacency. But on the twelfth of December, 1546, he was suddenly arrested, as was the Duke, his father, who had on that day arrived in London. It should seem that nothing in the shape of evidence against Surrey had been yet collected, or,

if it had, that the Privy Council was ashamed to hear it, for, on his appearance before them, silence was scarcely broken but by his demand of a public trial. He was committed to the Tower, and some weeks passed before that ceremony, for it deserved no better name, was permitted. At length he was indicted at Norwich of high treason, on the sole charge of having quartered on his shield the arms of Edward the Confessor, which was construed a tacit claim to the regal succession, and a special commission was issued for his trial in the Guildhall of London. To give some colour of impartiality to the proceeding, a Jury was summoned from Norfolk, the county most under the influence of his family. In addition to the solitary accusation of the indictment no fact was proved against him but that he had used a coronet somewhat resembling a royal Crown, which was stated by his sister, the Duchess of Richmond, who, strange to tell! voluntarily presented herself for that purpose, as well as to disclose some vague private conversations which had passed between them. On these charges, incredible as it might seem, he was found guilty of high treason, and on the nineteenth of January, 1547, two days after his mock trial, and only nine before the death of the tyrant to whose insane barbarity he fell a sacrifice, was beheaded on Tower Hill. His body was interred, near the scene of his death, in the church of All-hallows, Barking, but was removed from thence, in the year 1614, to Framlingham, in Suffolk, where it lies under a superb monument, erected to his memory by his second son, Henry, Earl of Northampton.

The Earl of Surrey's lady, who was remarried to John Stayning, a gentleman of the county of Somerset, has already been mentioned. He left issue by her two sons; Thomas, who became fourth Duke of Norfolk of his family: and Henry, of whom we have just now spoken; and three daughters; Jane, married to Charles Neville, sixth and last Earl of Westmoreland; Catherine, to Henry nineteenth Lord Berkeley; and Margaret, to Henry seventh Lord Scrope of Bolton.

Engraved by W.T.Fry.

KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

OB. 1547.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

London, Published Oct.^r 1.1830, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

This Monarch, and surely to no one who ever swayed a sceptre was that title, in its strictest sense, more justly due, was born on the twenty-eighth of June, 1491. He had at once the education of a Prince and a Prelate, and indeed it has been said that his frugal father had intended to place him at the head of the English church: the premature death however of his elder brother, Arthur, invested him with the inheritance to the throne, which he mounted, upon the death of Henry the seventh, on the twenty-second of April, 1509. His accession was marked by the most auspicious circumstances: his kingdom was in a state of perfect tranquillity at home, and in amity with all the nations of Europe, and the treasure left to him by his father was enormous: his youth, his fine person, the liveliness of his disposition, his love of splendor, and his devotion to manly and vigorous exercises, won the hearts of his subjects, and the union in himself of the two mighty houses which had so long contended for the Crown had fixed unquestionably his right, and augmented his power to rule them. His reign began with a popular sacrifice, and Sir Richard Empson, and Edmund Dudley, who had been the chief ministers to his father's avarice, were led to the scaffold; meanwhile the question, big with such unforeseen and mighty consequences, of his marriage to Catherine of Arragon, widow of his brother Arthur, was agitated as a matter of state policy, and speedily settled, and they were espoused on the third of June, following his father's death.

It was unlikely that a Prince young, haughty, wealthy, and inexperienced, should allow his country long to enjoy the advantages of peace. Pope Julius the second, whose genius was alto-

gether warlike and political, had been for some time engaged in a quarrel with France on the affairs of Italy which had divided the powers of the continent into two rancorous parties. He had made overtures to Henry, and the more effectually to gain his assistance, had offered not only to declare him head of the Italian league, but to transfer to him the title of "Rex Christianissimus," so highly cherished by the French Monarchs. Henry consented, and the more readily because Ferdinand, his Queen's father, had lately adopted the same course. It was agreed that he should invade France from the Spanish frontier, which he did, with ten thousand men, to little purpose, while his naval force engaged with better success in the English channel. In the mean time Ferdinand affected to perform his part by marching an army into Navarre, a neutral country, with the secret view, which he accomplished, of annexing the most of it to his own dominions, and leaving the rest to be taken possession of by the French, and virtually abandoned the league. Henry however continued to prosecute his part of the war with vigour; renewed with Leo the tenth the engagements which he had made with Julius, lately deceased; induced the Emperor, by the payment of a large subsidy, to declare against France; and in the summer of 1513 passed over into that country in person, at the head of a powerful army, to make a campaign of three months, more distinguished by its romantic splendor and gallantry than by any important military exploits. It was during this his short absence that the war with Scotland, in which its King, James the fourth, paid with his life the forfeit for his attachment to France, began and ended; and Henry received the trophies of the victory of Flodden Field while he was besieging Tournay, which surrendered to him on the following day. A few months however produced a peace with France. Henry, enraged by new duplicities on the part of his father-in-law, and also of the Emperor Maximilian, not only signed suddenly a treaty of alliance with Louis, but gave his beautiful sister Mary in marriage to that Prince, who was nearly

forty years older than herself, and who survived the nuptials scarcely three months.

It was at this period that the King's favour to that extraordinary person Thomas Wolsey became evident. He was now Dean of Lincoln, in which station Henry had found him when he succeeded to the Crown, and so necessary had his presence become to his master, that when the army was equipped for the late voyage to France, the care of victualling it was ridiculously committed to him, as a pretext for his personal attendance. He was seen soon after the King's return the sole director of his policy, and the chief partner in his pleasures. He was invested, as it were at once, with the richest and most powerful ecclesiastical dignities of the realm; was appointed High Chancellor; and at length created a Cardinal. Francis the first, who had succeeded to the throne of France, and the Emperor Charles the fifth, the two most powerful Princes of Europe, conscious of his influence over Henry, courted him with adulation even servile. In their contest for the friendship of our Monarch, Charles, who was the better politician, prevailed. Francis had paid Henry the compliment of soliciting that interview with him which passed on the French coast in 1520 with such chivalrous magnificence, but Charles had visited him in his own dominions immediately before his departure to it; won his heart with schemes of grandeur; and, which was probably more effectual, presented Wolsey with the revenues of two rich bishoprics in Spain, and promised his interest in raising him to the Popedom, to which he already aspired. A war ensued between these Princes in the succeeding year, and a treaty, in which Henry assumed ineffectually the character of mediator, and his interference ended in an offensive alliance between himself, the Emperor, and the Pope, against Francis. This negotiation, by which he engaged to invade France in the following summer with forty thousand men, was concluded at Bruges by Wolsey.

Soon after the King's return, Edward Stafford, Duke of

Buckingham, the most powerful subject in the realm, was put to death for having alluded to some remote possibility that he might succeed to the Crown. This has usually been ascribed to the resentment of Wolsey, who had a private quarrel with him, but perhaps ought more properly to be considered as the commencing article in the long catalogue of Henry's rapacities and cruelties. Little remained of the great wealth left by his father, and the attainder of Buckingham furnished a rich prize to an almost exhausted treasury. It was indeed about this period that Henry's character began to assume that deformity the records of which have tended to cast doubts on the truth of history. Unemployed for a short interval of peace, and burning for distinction wheresoever it might possibly be found, he burst forth suddenly the polemic champion of that Church which he soon after found it convenient to demolish; attacked Luther, and the new doctrines, with all the weapons of school divinity, in which he was well versed; and presented his book to the Pope, who rewarded his apparent zeal by conferring on him the title of "Defender of the Faith." He now received a second visit from the Emperor, and renewed with him the treaty of the preceding year; the promised invasion of France followed, and passed over in comparatively insignificant depredations near the coast in Britanny and Normandy. A war with Scotland, of the same inferior character, succeeded, and was prosecuted with indifferent success for more than a year. Henry's object in all his intercourse with that country, either as a friend or an enemy, was to detach it from its alliance with France, but his policy was not sufficiently refined to deceive that deep-sighted people in negotiation, and his purse was too weak to furnish the means of decisive warfare. It was now that he began to raise money by forced loans, and by what were called benevolences; became perplexed and irritated by their tedious operation; summoned a Parliament and convocation, and, finding them unwilling to grant him the supplies which he required, awed them into compliance by threatening to cut off

the heads of those among them who most steadily opposed themselves to his will.

France, however seriously menaced, had hitherto suffered little from the efforts of her powerful enemies, when the rashness of her monarch plunged his affairs suddenly into the deepest calamity. He had determined to attempt the conquest of the Milanese; invaded Italy; and, having laid siege to Pavia, was unexpectedly attacked by the Imperialists; his army completely routed under the walls of that city, and himself taken prisoner. Henry, whose conduct in his league with Charles, and in the management of his own share of the war, had already displayed little policy, now took a step which astonished Europe. Incited by some personal slights which he had of late received from the Emperor, as well as by a jealousy of his overweening power, and perhaps yet more by a capricious generosity, he formed a treaty with the French Regent, and engaged to procure Francis his liberty. That Prince however soon after obtained it by an almost pardonable breach of his parole, and on the eighteenth of September, 1527, concluded at London an alliance with Henry, who took this occasion to renounce for ever all claim to the Crown of France.

While these matters passed, events not less important than surprising were silently approaching in England. The King had resolved to repudiate Catherine. On that great affair, certainly the most considerable in itself and in its consequences, and perhaps the best known and understood, in our modern history, it would be impertinent to dilate here. It may not be too bold to say, that all question on his real motives to this determination has long ceased. No one will now venture to urge on his behalf those scruples of conscience for which his earlier apologists gave him credit. Nay, we seek in vain for a single act in Henry's life which might authorize us even to suspect that he had a conscience. His incitements in this case were of the most simple and ordinary nature—an appetite too gross to be expressed in the terms which might properly denote it, and a policy

too obvious to deserve the praise of sagacity—his inclination to the person of Anne Bullen, and his desire to become the father of an heir with unquestionable title to the crown. The Pope, Clement the seventh, naturally timid, and at that time a prisoner in the hands of the Emperor, who was nephew to Catherine, evaded all endeavours to induce him to dissolve the marriage by his own authority, but at length consented to grant a commission to Wolsey, and another cardinal chosen by himself, to try its validity. The King and Queen were cited to appear before them, and obeyed the summons. Henry of course acknowledged the authority of the court, but Catherine demurred, and having justified herself on the spot in an unexpected address to the King, the prudent and pathetic features of which will always render it a classical ornament to our history, departed, and refused all future attendance. The Court however proceeded, though slowly, in the exercise of its functions, and the convocations of Canterbury and York decreed at length the invalidity of the marriage. Henry was in daily expectation of a definitive sentence, when the Pope suddenly adjourned the final consideration of the cause to Rome, where a favourable decision was hopeless.

The wrath excited in the King's mind by this disappointment was somewhat appeased by the sacrifice of Wolsey, whose favour had been for some time declining. Parties the most discordant joined in accelerating his fall. Catherine and her rival were equally his enemies. His favour at Rome had been impaired by his assiduity in promoting the divorce, and he had offended the English clergy by conniving at those partial spoliations of the church which formed a prelude to the reformation. He was detested by the nobility for usurping a magnificence which they could not reach. Above all, Henry had determined to renounce the authority of the Papal See, a resolution to the practice of which Wolsey's ecclesiastical and political existence could not but have been a constant impediment. He was prosecuted under an obsolete law, for the breach of which he had long since

received a general indemnity, signed by the King; received an ample pardon; was again prosecuted on the same charges; and saved himself from the axe by dying of a broken heart. Henry now attacked the whole body of his clergy, under colour of the authority of the same statute, and they purchased their pardon by the payment of a great sum; proceeded to deprive the Church of Rome of an important part of the ancient revenue which it derived from England; and procured a vote of Parliament, ordaining that any censures which the Pope might issue against those acts should be utterly disregarded. In the mean time the Queen dispatched an appeal to Rome on the question of the divorce, and he received a citation to answer it, which he did very effectually by almost instantly marrying Anne Bullen. The evidence which had been given, and the decree uttered by the convocations two years before, were now deemed all-sufficient, and Cranmer, the Primate, with no other authority, by a formal sentence annulled the King's marriage with Catherine, and ratified his union with Anne. The Parliament however presently after confirmed that sentence, and by a special act settled the inheritance of the Crown on the issue of Anne. The same Parliament declared the King "the only supreme head of the Church of England."

Henry, to whom all modes of faith were indifferent, had not perhaps yet contemplated the establishment in England of the new persuasion. His objects were, first to shake off the Papal authority, and then to render the wealth of the Church subservient to his occasional necessities. The reformation was but an incidental consequence of his efforts to those ends. At this period therefore, while he shed the blood of several persons, at the head of whom were the illustrious Moore and Fisher, for asserting the Pope's supremacy, he consigned many to the stake for denying the Catholic tenets. He had already suppressed a great number of the smaller religious houses, and his Parliament had possessed him of their revenues, and was proceeding to bolder confiscations,

when his attention was for a moment diverted to a domestic concern. Anne's charms had ceased to please, and he had given way to a new sensual partiality. His unfortunate and beautiful Queen, to whose innocence posterity has implicitly subscribed, was put to death with several other persons, among whom was her brother, and on the same day, or, as some say, on the third day after, he married Jane Seymour, the daughter of a private gentleman. A Parliament, not less subservient than that which had settled the crown on his issue by Anne, paid him on this occasion the compliment of bastardizing his daughters by his two former Queens, and decreeing the inheritance to the fruit of this new marriage.

As the breach with the Pope widened, the certainty of a total change in the national religion became daily more manifest. The convocation, in which, those of the two persuasions were nearly equally balanced, at length promulgated, with Henry's sanction, certain articles of faith, comprising a heterogeneous mixture of the doctrines of each party, some of which evidently pointed at the downfall of the regular priesthood. The people, moved not less by the actual interest which they had in the maintenance of that body than by their own pious feelings, rose in enormous masses, which for want of leaders were presently subdued; and Henry, in defiance, proceeded without delay to the suppression of the larger monasteries, and the assumption of their extensive revenues. Still however he hesitated on the unqualified rejection of the old religion. An unaccountable caprice prompted him to become the champion of transubstantiation. He was even absurd enough to debate that question publicly in Westminster Hall, in all the pomp of royalty, surrounded by the Peers spiritual and temporal, with an obscure individual, who was presently after committed to the flames for maintaining his opinion in that conference, and many others were about the same time burned also for denying the real presence. He found the system lately framed by the convocation utterly impracticable, and

endeavoured to simplify and explain it by extorting from the Parliament that terrific act well known by the name of the Law of the Six Articles, in which the most favourite tenets of the Church of Rome were enforced by penalties of unheard of severity: at the same time he flattered the reformers by many concessions; particularly by an unqualified permission to use in their family worship the English version of the Scriptures, but this liberty was soon after confined to gentlemen and merchants. There was however no safety, amidst the various, and frequently contradictory regulations of this time, for those who professed either faith with undisguised zeal, and numbers of each were put to death, frequently with circumstances of wanton barbarity. New forms of doctrine and discipline were now contrived. A compendium of tenets was published under the title of "the Institution of a Christian Man," varying in many instances from those which had preceded them; and this again was shortly after followed by the publication of an improved scheme of orthodoxy, entitled "the Erudition of a Christian Man." These, particularly the latter, are believed to have been composed by Henry's own hand, and were certainly uttered under the express authority of the King and Parliament. Fortunately for the unhappy people who were doomed to submit to his rule, he became at length bewildered amidst the confusion which himself had created, and left the jarring elements of his reformation to be reconciled and arranged by the wiser heads, the more sincere hearts, and the cleaner hands of his successors. All activity in this great work now ceased but that of the accuser, the judge, and the executioner.

Jane Seymour had died in giving birth to a son, afterwards Edward the sixth, and Henry had been for two years a widower, when he resolved to seek a consort in the Protestant Courts of Germany. Cromwell, whom he had raised from the most abject obscurity, and whose busy and profitable agency in what may be called the financial branch of the reformation had made him a

minister of state and a favourite, proposed to him Anne, daughter of the Duke of Cleves. The connection was politically desirable, and a portrait of the Princess by Holbein had obtained the King's approbation. He espoused her, but on her arrival in England, finding her coarse, both in person and manners, conceived an unconquerable dislike to her, which he expressed to his confidents by calling her "a great Flanders mare." He compleated the marriage however, and, for a while concealing from others his aversion, employed himself in devising the most convenient means by which he might dispose of her, when a new object of appetite cut short his deliberations. He became enamoured of Catherine Howard, a niece to the Duke of Norfolk, who might at this time be called his chief minister, and whose envy and hatred, concurring with the disgust which Cromwell had excited in Henry's mind by promoting his late unlucky marriage, wrought suddenly the downfall of that remarkable child of various fortunes. Cromwell was arrested by Norfolk at the Council Board, attainted of treason and heresy, and beheaded, without examination or trial; Anne was divorced without a single legal plea against her, or a tittle of evidence, and it was declared high treason to deny the dissolution of her marriage; and the perpetration of all these enormities by an English Parliament, together with the celebration of the nuptials of Henry with Catherine Howard, occupied but the space of six weeks, in the summer of the year 1540.

Catherine possesed youth, beauty, talents, and politeness, and the raptures with which Henry professed to cherish this new connection exceeded all ordinary bounds. Not contented with offering up a prayer in his own chapel in testimony of his gratitude for it, he commanded the Bishop of Lincoln to compose a regular form of public thanksgiving to the same effect. In the midst of these extravagancies, it was communicated to him by Cranmer that she had indulged, before her marriage, and perhaps after, in the most profligate libertinism, and had even chosen her

paramours from among the servants of her grandmother, the old Duchess of Norfolk. He is said to have wept when he received the intelligence. The Queen, and the parties with whom she had offended, were proceeded against by attainder, and put to death. Two remarkable acts of Parliament were now passed; the one constituting it high treason to conceal in future any knowledge, or even strong suspicion, of similar guilt in a Queen consort; and the other, as though to reach the climax of absurd tyranny, enacting that any woman whom the King might propose to marry, having previously forfeited her honour, should also be subjected to the penalties of high treason if she did not disclose her guilt to him previously to her nuptials.

It was fortunate for Henry, amidst the difficulties, public and domestic, into which for the last ten years he had plunged himself and his people, that it should have suited the interests of neighbouring States to remain at peace with him. The Emperor, as a man his bitter enemy, was restrained by high political motives from attacking him. Francis, on the other hand, was his friend, as well from inclination as policy. Scotland had been too much distracted by factions during the long minority of his nephew, James the fifth, to become an aggressor. Henry himself at length interrupted this apparent concord. Excited by a jealousy not unreasonable of the intimate union which existed between the two latter princes, and by private resentment, not only because Francis had given in marriage to James a Princess whom he intended to have demanded for himself, but on the score of a personal slight which he had received from the King of Scots, he seized the first moment of leisure to break with both. He invaded Scotland with a powerful army, and was at first repulsed; when James, flushed by the deceitful advantage, determined, against the sense of his nobility and commanders, to pursue his invaders into their own country; was utterly routed at Solway Forth; and died, as is said, of grief, on the fourteenth of December, 1542, exactly three weeks after his defeat. With

him this short war also expired; a treaty was concluded, the principal feature of which was a stipulation for the marriage of his infant daughter, afterwards the celebrated Mary, to the young Prince of Wales, which it is almost needless to say was never fulfilled.

The articles concluded on however, especially the latter, were beheld by the Scots with disgust and dread. They saw their country falling gradually under the domination of Henry, and appealed to the old friendship of Francis, who readily engaged to assist them, in the very probable event of a renewal of warfare with England, with troops and money. This negotiation soon became known to Henry, and he lost no time in resenting it. He suddenly established a league with the Emperor, and they agreed to furnish an army, each of twenty-five thousand men, for the invasion of France, chiefly under the pretence of chastising its King for having formed an alliance with the Grand Signor. Henry now assembled his Parliament, which not only granted him ample supplies for the prosecution of this new war, but went even further than any of its compliant predecessors towards surrendering into his hands the whole legislative authority. It expressly recognized and strengthened a former law by which the King's proclamations were declared equivalent to statutes, and constituted a tribunal for facilitating the operation of such manifestations of the royal will, and for punishing those who might disobey them. The year in which he received this monstrous concession, 1543, was further rendered somewhat remarkable by an event of smaller importance; his marriage with Catherine Par, the widow already of two husbands.

The high sounding confederacy between Henry and the most powerful Prince in Europe produced no important results. Their first campaign, in which no very active part fell to the English, ended with little actual advantage to either party, and with increased credit to the military reputation of France; and the second was more distinguished by a peace, in the treaty for which

Henry was not even named, suddenly concluded between the Emperor and Francis, than by any notable exploit in the field. It had been in fact a war of sieges, and Henry's reduction of Boulogne, which surrendered to him in person, may perhaps be considered as its most important feature. He returned, full of chagrin, to the consolation of yet further augmented power. A new Parliament, which met in the first of the two years of the war, had, in submission to his dictates, recognized the right of his daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, to their proper places in the line of succession to the throne; impowered him however to exclude them, should they incur his displeasure; left unrepealed the act by which they had formerly been declared illegitimate; and, finally, invested him expressly with the right, should he chance to be left childless, to give the Crown, by his will, or by letters patent, to whomsoever he might think fit. Not content with enacting these fearful absurdities, this Parliament not only absolved him of his obligation to repay a late loan, but actually ordained that such of the lenders as had already been reimbursed should refund into the exchequer the several sums which they had respectively received.

Before Henry passed over into France, he renewed the war with Scotland. A powerful army, which had been transported by sea to Leith, marched to Edinburgh, which they plundered, and mostly burned, and, having horribly ravaged the country to the east of that city, returned almost without loss. Another inroad, made in the autumn of the same year, 1544, was less successful. The English were chased within their own borders, leaving behind them many slain, and more prisoners; were reinforced, and became again in their turn the assailants. At length, after a year had passed in that barbarous predatory warfare which distinguished the border contests, a treaty of peace was signed with the King of France, in which Scotland, at the instance of that Prince, was included. Henry, thus disengaged, once more recurred to ecclesiastical speculations. Some remnants of Church

property yet remained untouched. The same Parliament from which he had of late received such surprising proofs of a blind and senseless devotion, now possessed him of the revenues of the chantries, hospitals, and free chapels, and even of those of the universities. The latter he graciously declined to accept, and hence only, with the exception of his foundation of Trinity College, Cambridge, acquired the reputation of an encourager of learning, and a patron of science. So accustomed had the nation become to the expectation of his arbitrary invasions of property, and of its own practice of an implicit submission to them, that it hailed this forbearance as an emanation of the highest generosity, and acknowledged it by the most absurd and misplaced flattery.

In his renewed labours to establish an uniformity of faith, or at least worship, he was still perplexed by doubts and difficulties, The Prelates, Cranmer and Gardiner, the one a zealous protestant, and a man of pure simplicity, the other, the very crafty but determined advocate for the old religion, were alternately his advisers, and his endeavours to select truth and justice from the contrariety of their counsels, were alike destitute of piety or wisdom. He sought to soothe the irritation which he suffered from these vexations and disappointments, and from a rapid abatement of health, by new acts of persecution. Several persons were brought to the stake for denying, or rather for doubting, his favourite doctrine of transubstantiation, and the Queen herself was saved by her own wit and sagacity from falling a victim to his suspicion that she wavered on that delicate point. But a most unexpected sacrifice of another sort closely impended. Henry had secretly determined to shed the blood of his faithful and long tried minister and general, the Duke of Norfolk, and of his admirably accomplished son, the Earl of Surrey. They were suddenly arrested, and, without a single proof of guilt, indeed almost without a single specific charge, arraigned of high treason, and condemned to die. It were charity to the memory of the

tyrant to suppose, and it is somewhat strange that a conjecture seemingly so obvious should not before have occurred, that this last superlative enormity might be ascribed to the insanity which sometimes increases the horrors of approaching death. Be this as it may, Surrey was led to the scaffold, and presently after, Henry, having on that very day, the twenty-eighth of January, 1547, signed an order for the execution of the Duke on the morrow, himself expired.

Engraved by J. Cochran.

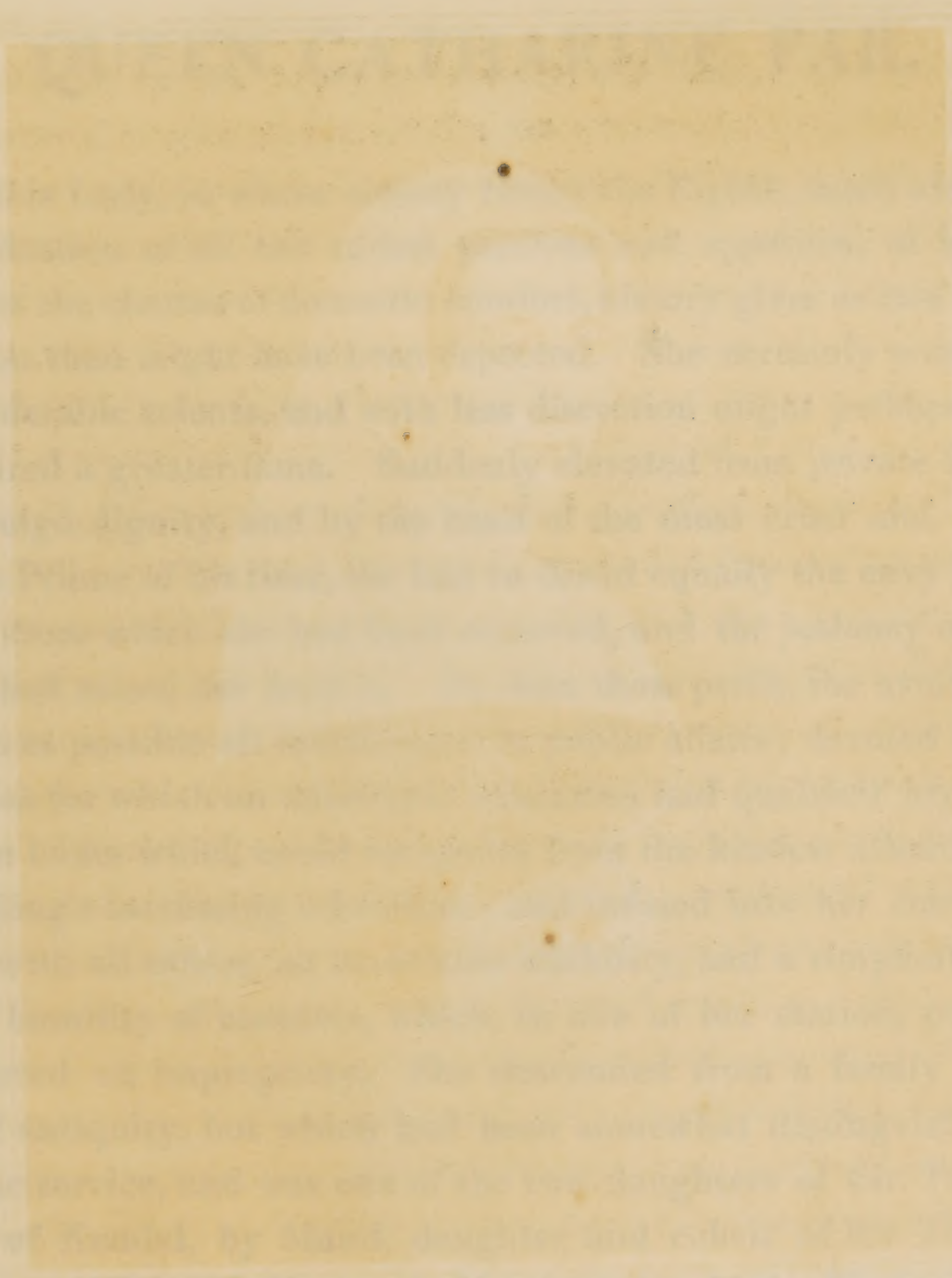
QUEEN CATHARINE PAR.

OB. 1548.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

DAWSON TURNER ESQRE A.M: F.R.A: & L.S:.

London, Published June 1, 1829, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



QUEEN CATHARINE PAR.

Of this Lady, in whose society Henry the Eighth, sated with the gratification of all the rudest passions and appetites, at length sought the charms of domestic comfort, history gives us less information than might have been expected. She certainly possessed considerable talents, and with less discretion might perhaps have acquired a greater fame. Suddenly elevated from private life to sovereign dignity, and by the hand of the most cruel and capricious Prince of his time, she had to dread equally the envy of the rank from which she had been removed, and the jealousy of him who had raised her from it. To shun those perils, she avoided as much as possible all interference in public affairs; devoted to the studies for which an admirable education had qualified her most of the hours which could be spared from the kindest attention to the King's increasing infirmities; and infused into her conversation with all others, an invariable affability, and a simplicity and even humility of manners, which, in one of her station, perhaps bordered on impropriety. She descended from a family of no great antiquity, but which had been somewhat distinguished in public service, and was one of the two daughters of Sir Thomas Par, of Kendal, by Maud, daughter and coheir of Sir Thomas Greene, of Greene's Norton, in Northamptonshire. She had been married in early life to Edward Borough, eldest son of Thomas, Lord Borough of Gainsborough; who dying soon after, she took to her second husband John Nevile, Lord Latimer, by whom also she was left a widow, having had no children by either. Henry married her, his sixth Queen, at Hampton Court, on the twelfth of July 1543, when she was about the age of thirty-four. "In the concluding another match," says Lord Herbert, with some

archness, "he found a difficulty; for, as it had been declared death for any whom the King should marry to conceal her incontinency in former time, so few durst hazard to venture into those bonds with a King who had, as they thought, so much facility in dissolving them. Therefore they stood off, as knowing in what a slippery estate they were if the King, after his receiving them to bed, should, through any mistake, declare them no maids. So that now he fixed upon the Lady Catherine Par, widow to the Lord Latimer, who, as she was esteemed ever a lady of much integrity and worth, and some maturity of years, so the King, after marriage, lived apparently well with her, for the most part."

Only a single instance, indeed, of discord between them has been recorded, and it had nearly proved fatal to her. Catharine was a zealous protestant: Henry, having gained the private ends at which he aimed in the reformation, had of late years judged it convenient to soothe the Church of Rome with some concessions. With this view he enjoined the observation of his memorable six articles, and prohibited the publication of English translations of the New Testament. The Queen had presumed to argue with him on these, and other imperfections, in the performance of his great work; and the Romanists of the court and council, who secretly entertained strong hopes of the re-establishment, at least in good part, of the ancient faith, began to consider her as a formidable enemy, and determined to use all means to ruin her. A singular opportunity soon presented itself to them, the origin and consequences of which I shall relate somewhat in detail, not only for the sake of probable truth, but for the simple and impressive terms of the unacknowledged authority on which all historians of that reign have given somewhat of the anecdote, in such scraps, more or less, as happened best to agree with their several humours, or to suit their convenience. That authority is John Fox, whom I quote from Mason's abridgment of his vast book; and it seems highly probable, from considerations which the

compass of this work will not allow me to state, that the relation was derived from Catharine herself, and it may, perhaps, be in her own words.

After some introductory matter, we are told that " the King, in the later end, grew oppiniate, and would not bee taught, nor contented withall by argument; yet towards her he refrained his accustomed manner, for never handmaide sought more to please her mistresse then she to please his humour; and she was of such singular beauty, favour, and comely personage, wherein the King was greatly delighted. But Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, Wrisley" (Wriothesley,) " Lord Chancelor, and others of the King's privy chamber, practised her death, that they might the better stop the passage of the gospell; and, having taken away the patronesse of the professors of the truth, they might invade the remainder with fire and sword; but they durst not speake to the king touching her, because they saw the king loved her so well. At length the king was sicke of a sore legge, which made him very froward, and the Queene being with him, did not faile to use all occasions to moove him zealously to proceed in the reformation of the church. The King shewed some tokens of mislike, and broke off the matter, and knit up the arguments with gentle words, and, after pleasant talke, she took her leave. The Bishop of Winchester being there, the King immediately upon her departure, used these words—" It is a good hearing when women become such clarks, and much to my comfort to come in mine old age to be taughte by my wife." Then the Bishop shewed a mislike that the Queene would so much forget herselfe to stand in argument with his Majestie, whose judgement and divinitie he extolled to his face above Princes of that and other ages, and of doctors professed in divinitie; and that it was unseemly for any of his subjects to argue with him so malapertly; and that it was greevous to all his councellors and servants to heare the same: inferring how perilous it hath ever been for a Prince to suffer such insolent words of a subject, who, as they are bold

against their Sovereigne's words, so they want not will, but strength, to overthwart them in deeds."

Fox, having detailed much similar argument used by Gardiner, tells us that "he crept so farre into the King at that time, that he, and his fellowes, filled the King's mistrustful minde with such feares that the King gave them warrant to consult together about drawing of articles against the Queene wherein her life might be touched. Then they thought it best to begin with such ladies as she most esteemed, and were privy to all her doing; as the Lady Harbert, after Countesse of Pembroke, the Queene's sister; and the Lady Lane," (who was her first cousin,) "and the Lady Tirwit, all of her privy chamber; and to accuse them upon six articles; and to search their closets and coffers, that they might finde somewhat to charge the Queene; and that being founde, the Queene should be taken, and carried in a barge by night to the Tower, of which advice the King was made privy by Gardiner, and the Lord Chancellor, to which they had the King's consent, and the time and place appointed. This purpose was so finely handled that it grew within few daies of the time appointed, and the poore Queene suspected nothing, but after her accustomed manner, visited the King, still to deale with him touching religion, as before."

We are then told that a copy of the articles of accusation was accidentally dropt by one of the council, and somehow found its way to the Queen, who was thereupon, as well she might, suddenly taken dangerously ill; that Henry visited her with such appearance of kindness that she soon after became sufficiently recovered to repair to his apartment, where he artfully contrived to turn the conversation to their old topic of debate. "But the Queene," says Fox, "perceiving to what purpose this his talke tended, your Majestie doth well know, quoth shee, and I am not ignorant of, what great weaknesse by our first creation is allotted to us women, to be subject unto man as our head, from which head all our direction must proceed. And, as God

made man after his own image, that, being indued with more speciall gifts of perfection, hee might be stirred to meditate heavenly things, and obey his commandements, so he made woman of man, of whom, and by whom, she is to bee commanded and governed, whose womanly weaknesse ought to bee tolerated and ayded, that by his wisedome such things as be lacking in her might be supplied: Therefore, your Majestie being so excellent in ornaments of wisedome, and I so much inferiour in all respects of nature, why doth your Majestie in such defuse causes of religion require my judgement, which, when I have uttered and said what I can, yet I must and will referre my judgement in this and all causes to your Majestie's wisedome, as my onely anker, supreme head, and the governor heere on earth next unto God?"

"Not so, by St. Mary, said the King—You are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us."

"She answered—Your Majestie hath much mistaken mee, who have ever thought it preposterous for the woman to instruct her husband, but rather to learn of him; and, where I have beene bold to hold talke with your Majestie whereof there hath seemed some difference in opinion, I have not done it to maintaine opinion, but to minister talke, that your Majestie might with less griefe passe the paine of your infirmitie, being attentive to your talke; and that I might receive some profit by your Majestie's learned discourse, wherein I have not missed any part of my desire, alwaies referring myselfe in such matters to your Majestie."

"Then, said the King, tendeth your argument to no worse end? Then wee are now as perfect friendes as evere wee were. And he imbraced her, and kissed her: saying it did him more good to heare these words than if he had heard newes of a hundred thousand pound fallen to him."

"On the day that was appointed for the aforesaid tragedy the King went into his garden, whether the Queene, being sent for, came, onely the three ladies abovenamed waiting on her; with

whom the King was as pleasant as ever hee was in his life. In the middest of his mirth, the houre appointed being come, the Lord Chancelor cometh into the garden, with forty of the King's guard at his heeles, with purpose to take the Queene, with the three ladies, to the Tower; whom the King, sternly beholding, called him to him, who, on his knees, whispered to the King. The King cal'd him knave, arrant knave, and beastly foole, and commanded him to avant out of his presence; which words the Queene heard, though they were low spoken. Then he departed, with his traine, the whole mould of his device broken. The Queene, seeing the King so chafed, spoke for the Lord Chancelor. Ah, poore soule, quoth hee, thou little knowest how evill hee deserveth this grace at thy hands: he hath been towards thee, sweetheart, an arrant knave, and so let him goe." The matter and manner, of this narrative will furnish a sufficient apology for so lengthened a quotation.

Catharine's attachment, however, to the reformed religion was perhaps not wholly useless to Henry. When he departed in 1544 on his famous expedition to the coast of France, he appointed her Regent during his absence, to awe, as Lord Herbert conceives, the Papists, who well knew her aversion to them, and it seems to have been the only mark of his political confidence that she ever received. He bequeathed to her by his Will, in which he acknowledges "her great love, obedience, chasteness of life, and wisdom," in addition to her jointnre, three thousand pounds in plate, jewels, and furniture, and one thousand pounds in money, a wretched legacy, valuable even as money then was, to a Dowager Queen.

Slenderly provided for, obnoxious to a very powerful party, and not without some previous tenderness towards the object of her choice, she sought protection in a fourth marriage with Thomas Lord Seymour of Sudely, Lord Admiral of England, and brother to the Protector Somerset, which produced to her the most fatal consequences. The Admiral, in whom all other passions

and sentiments gave way to that most inordinate ambition, which, for the time, he had gratified by marrying the widow of his King, presently conceived a scheme for mounting yet a step higher by espousing the Princess Elizabeth, some curious circumstances of his intercourse with whom will be found in their proper place in this work. While Catharine laboured under the miseries of jealousy on that account, she was assailed by the envy of the Duchess of Somerset, "a woman," says the chief writer on the reign of Edward the sixth, "for many imperfections, intolerable, but for pride monstrous." Neglected by a husband whom she loved, insulted by an inferior, and beholding a rival in her daughter-in-law, the Queen's constitution sunk under an accumulation of so many griefs. It has been commonly asserted that she died in child-birth, a report which, adverting to the fact that she had been childless in three previous marriages, might reasonably be doubted, notwithstanding the proof which we have from one of her own letters to her husband that she believed herself to be pregnant. It has been said too, with yet less probability, that she was taken off by poison. Both these statements may perhaps be fairly traced to the same source, the confession of her attendant, the Lady Tyrwhit, (see Haynes and Murdin's State Papers,) given in evidence on an other occasion. That document informs us that the Queen, two days before her death, said, "that she dyd *fere* (qu. feel?) such things in herself that she was suer she cold not lyve." That she used also these words: "My Lady Tyrwhyt, I am not wel handelyd; for thos that be abowt me caryth not for me, but standyth lawghyng at my gref; and the more good I wyl to them, the less good they wyl to me." That the Admiral, whom she then had by the hand, said, "why, sweethart, I wold you no hurt:" to which she replied aloud, "no, my Lord, I think so; and imedyetly she sayed to him, in his ere, but, my Lord you have yeven me many shrowd tauntes." Afterwards, says Lady Tyrwhit, she spoke to him "very rowndly and shartly (qu. sharply?) sayeng, my Lord, I would have geven a thowsand

markes to have had my full talke with Hewyke the first day I was *deliueryd*, but I doorst not, for displesyng of you." The evidence for the child-birth and the poisoning seems then to rest on the Queen's having used the words " delivered," and " fear;" for the other speeches ascribed to her in this conversation were but the ordinary reproaches which any woman might be expected to utter to an unkind husband.

She died at Lord Seymour's seat of Sudely, in Gloucestershire, on Wednesday, the fifth of September, 1548, and was buried in the chapel of the castle. In 1782, her tomb was opened, and the face, particularly the eyes, on removing the cerecloth which covered that part of her enbalmed corpse, are said to have been found in perfect preservation. A detailed account of this exhibition, and of the odious negligence with which the royal remains were afterwards treated, may be found in the ninth volume of Archaeologia.

Catharine was learned, and a lover of learning. The fame of her affection to literature, as well as to religion, induced the University of Cambridge to implore her intercession with Henry on the occasion of the act which placed all colleges, chantries, &c. at the King's disposal. She published, in 1545, a volume of Prayers and Meditations, " collected," as the title informs us, " out of holy woorkes;" and in some editions of this little book, for it was many times reprinted, may be found fifteen psalms, and some other small devotional pieces, mostly of her original composition. She wrote also " The Lamentation of a Sinner, bewailing the Ignorance of her blind Life;" meaning the errors of Popery, in which she had passed the earlier part of it. This was printed after her death, with a preface written by Secretary Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley. In the former of these volumes we find this prayer " for men to saye entring into battayle," which affords a fair example at once of the benignity and humility of her disposition, and of the character of her style. " O Almighty Kinge, and Lorde of hostes! which, by thy angells thereunto appointed,

doest minister both warre and peace; and which diddest give unto David both courage and strength, being but a little one, unarmed, and unexpert in feats of warre, with his slinge to sette uppon and overthrowe the great huge Goliath; our cause being just, and being enforsed to entre into warre and battaile, we most humbly beseche thee, O Lord God of hostes, sooe to turn the hearts of our enemyes to the desire of peace that no Christian bloud be spilt; or els graunt, O Lorde, that, with small effusion of bloud, and to the little hurt and dommage of innocentes, we may, to thy glory, obtayne victory; and that, the warres being soone ended, we may all with one heart and minde knitte together in concorde and unitie, laude and prayse the, which livest and reignest world without end. Amen."

Engraved by Thos Wright.

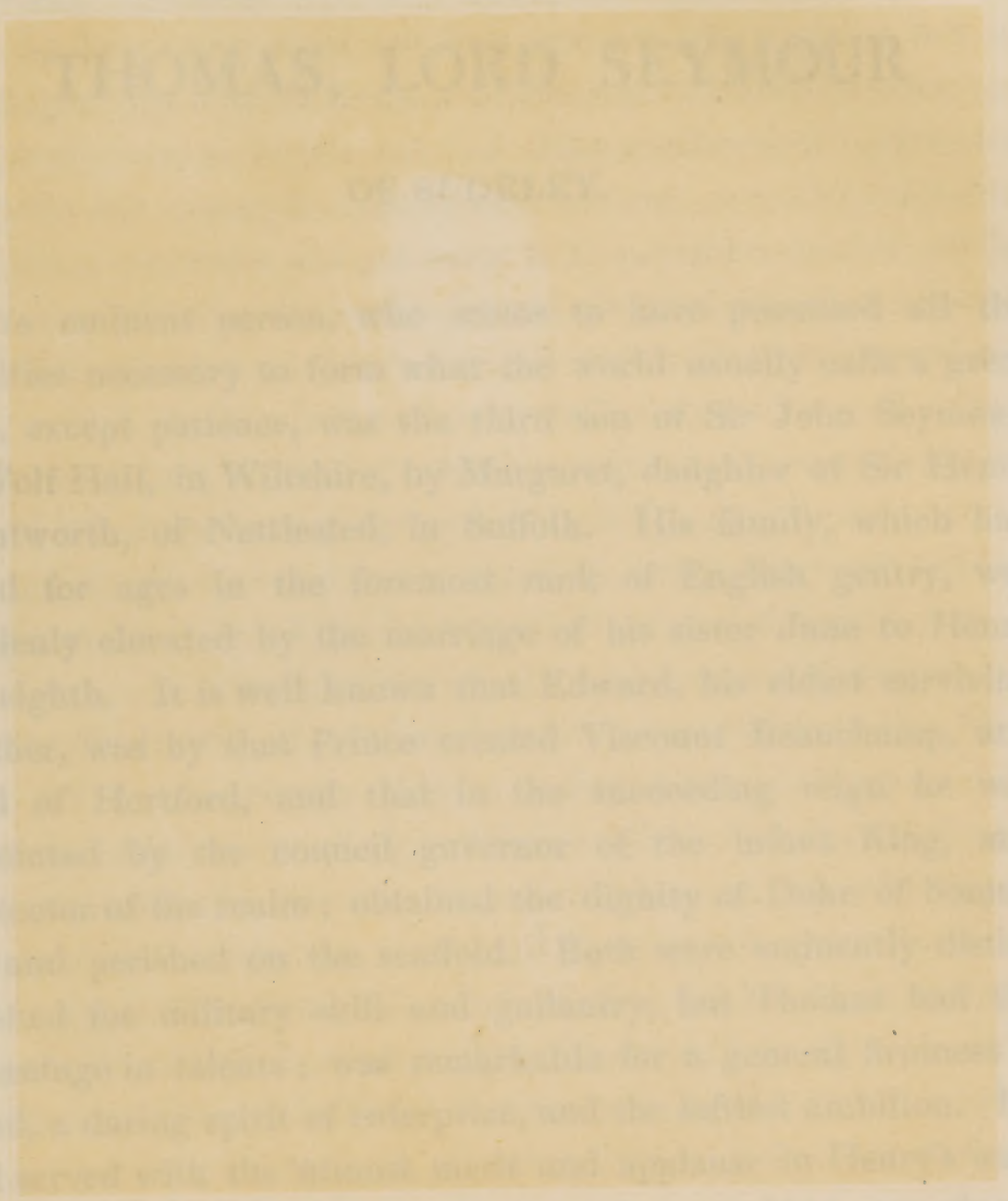
THOMAS, LORD SEYMOUR, OF SUDELEY.

OB. 1594.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE, THE MARQUIS OF BATH.

London, Published May 1, 1830, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



THOMAS, LORD SEYMOUR

OF SUDELEY.

This eminent person, who seems to have possessed all the qualities necessary to form what the world usually calls a great man, except patience, was the third son of Sir John Seymour, of Wolf Hall, in Wiltshire, by Margaret, daughter of Sir Henry Wentworth, of Nettlested, in Suffolk. His family, which had stood for ages in the foremost rank of English gentry, was suddenly elevated by the marriage of his sister Jane to Henry the eighth. It is well known that Edward, his eldest surviving brother, was by that Prince created Viscount Beauchamp, and Earl of Hertford, and that in the succeeding reign he was appointed by the council governor of the infant King, and Protector of the realm; obtained the dignity of Duke of Somerset, and perished on the scaffold. Both were eminently distinguished for military skill and gallantry, but Thomas had the advantage in talents; was remarkable for a general firmness of mind, a daring spirit of enterprize, and the loftiest ambition. He had served with the utmost merit and applause in Henry's wars against the French, and, in or about the year 1544, was placed for life in the post of Master of the Ordnance: on the accession of his nephew, Edward the sixth, he was constituted Lord Admiral of England, created Baron Seymour, of Sudeley, in Gloucestershire, and elected a Knight of the Garter. Till this period these great men had manifested a mutual cordiality and confidence. The constant favour of Henry had left no room for alarm in the timid breast of the one, and the haughty strictness of his rule had curbed the swelling pride of the other, but the death of that imperious Prince was the signal for their total

disunion. The features of a plan of aggrandisement which could not but have been premeditated presently disclosed themselves in the conduct of Seymour, and the most prominent of them appeared in his determination to connect himself with royalty by marriage. It has been said, but the report is unsupported by historical evidence, that he first attempted to win the affections of the Princess Mary. If it were so, his advances must have been made, which is highly improbable, during her father's reign, for immediately after that Prince's death he paid his addresses to the Queen Dowager, Catherine Par, and with so little reserve that their more than ordinary intimacy became presently evident to the whole Court. Catherine was easily persuaded, for he had been a favoured suitor before her marriage to the King, and accepted him for her fourth husband, long before the formality of her ostensible mourning for Henry had expired.

The discord between the brothers may be historically traced almost to the precise period of this marriage, and has been wholly ascribed to it by a writer equally remarkable for vehemence of prejudice, and carelessness of truth. Sanders, the well-known literary champion of Romanism, not content with observing, which he might probably have done with justice, that their quarrel originated in the hatred conceived by the Protector's lady, Anne Stanhope, a woman of intolerable pride and malice, against Catherine, would persuade us that its entire progress, and tragical termination, were directed solely by her influence. "Then arose," says Sanders, "a very great contest between Queen Catherine Par and the Protector's wife who should have the precedence; and the contest rested not in the women, but passed to the men: and when the emulation continually increased, the Protector's wife would not let her husband alone, till at last it came to pass that the Protector, who, although he ruled the King yet was ruled by his wife, must cut off his brother, that nothing might be an hindrance to her will." Hayward, the able historian of that reign, without seeking for a corroboration of

this tale, for which he would have sought in vain, has adopted Sanders's report, and even enlarged on it, in more than one of those florid passages so frequent in his interesting work. The only document however on record which tends to prove, and that rather obscurely, even that any jealousy subsisted on the score of the marriage is a letter from Catherine to the Admiral, in the year 1548, preserved in Haynes's State Papers, which commences with these words, and then turns to other subjects. "Thys schalbe to advertysche yow that my Lord your brother hathe thys afternone a lyttell made me warme. Yt was fortunate we war so much dystant, for I suppose els I schulde have bitten him. What cause have they to feare havynge such a wyffe?" The truth is that Seymour, from the very hour of Edward's accession, had been meditating the means of supplanting his brother in the King's affections, and in the exercise of his public authority.

The Protector was not long unapprised of these designs. Even so early as the summer of 1547, while he was fighting victoriously in Scotland, he received intelligence that his brother was engaged in great and dangerous intrigues against him at home. Led astray as well by goodness of heart as weakness of judgement, he had framed the fantastic theory of building the strength of his government on the affection of the people, and had therefore courted the Commons at the expence of the Aristocracy. Seymour availed himself of this error, and industriously fomented the discontent which it had excited among the nobles, but his rashness impelled him to premature steps. Without sufficient preparation, he endeavoured to prevail on them to propose in Parliament the abrogation of his brother's high faculties, and the election of himself to the station of Guardian of the King's person; artfully, however, and with an affected modesty, declining the office of Protector, with the double view of securing to his own interests him who might eventually be elected to it, and of controuling his government by the exercise of a secret influence over the royal

mind. He even prevailed on Edward to write a letter to the Parliament, desiring them to appoint him to the first of those trusts. His suggestions, however, were received with coldness and disgust, and he resented the disappointment with the undisguised anger and the unguarded speeches of one to whom a just right had been denied. The Protector, on his return, unwillingly prepared to proceed against him as a public criminal, and accepted with eagerness the concessions and apologies which he was at length prevailed on to offer, but those motions on the Admiral's part were wholly insincere, and his ambitious resolutions perhaps acquired new force from the privacy with which he was now compelled to cherish them.

Artifice indeed seems to have been foreign from his nature, but he had no alternative but to practice it or to abandon his designs. He again addressed himself secretly to the young King; endeavoured to inflame his passions with the desire of independent sway; told him that he was "a poor King, and could not pay his own servants," and soothed the generosity of his disposition by supplying him privately with money; but the purity of Edward's heart, and the superiority of his mind, rendered these stratagems fruitless, while his affection to his uncles induced him, till the secret was at length wrung from him, to conceal them. In the mean time an increasing intimacy, of a singular and mysterious nature, was observed to subsist between the Admiral and the young Elizabeth, who had been placed, upon the death of her father, under the care of the Queen Dowager, and remained an inmate in her family after her marriage to Seymour. Elizabeth had then scarcely passed her fourteenth year, and his attentions to her seem to have commenced with those innocent freedoms which it is usual to take with children. Catherine herself was often a party in their levities. But it was not long before he addressed himself to her with privacy, or in the presence only of some of her principal attendants, whom it is evident he had secured to his interests. Elizabeth, on her part, became

enamoured of him, and the Queen, after indulging an easy and unsuspicious temper, even to absurdity, was at length jealous, and procured the removal of the object of her uneasiness to the custody of others. On these curious circumstances history, which is not at all surprising, has been wholly silent. They have been disclosed by the publication, in that fine collection, Haynes's State Papers, of the unwilling testimonies of several persons preparatory to the prosecution of the Admiral, to which I must refer the reader for particulars too numerous, and, in some instances, too gross, to be here recited. The motives to his conduct in the pursuit of this amour, for so it must be called, are scarcely doubtful. If the princess had surrendered her honour to his importunities, she could have bribed him to secrecy only by submitting to become his wife, a condescension which in that case he certainly intended to exact. Catherine, it is true, was then living, and in good health, but might easily have been put out of the way. A man at once powerful, active, ambitious, and unprincipled, could at that time scarcely encounter an insurmountable difficulty. She died very soon after, not by poison, as has been reported, but in childbirth, and circumstances which presently succeeded effectually arrested the progress of the Admiral's designs on Elizabeth.

Some time, however, was yet allowed to him for the contrivance of new schemes. Those considerations which led Edward's Council to put the Princess Elizabeth into the hands of Catherine Par had induced them to place Jane Grey also, who was next in succession to the Crown, in the same custody. After the death of Catherine, the Marquis of Dorset, father to Jane, became desirous to recal his daughter into the bosom of her family. Seymour, under various pretexts, resisted his importunities, and, on being earnestly pressed, secretly represented to the Marquis the probability, should she still be permitted to remain under the protection of himself and his mother, that he might contrive to unite her in marriage to the young King. This overture, such was the

coarseness of the age, was accompanied by a present of five hundred pounds, and Dorset accepted it, and submitted. The Admiral was actuated in this negotiation by two motives. Dorset, though a man of weak intellect, possessed a powerful influence derived from his lady's relation in blood to the throne, from his great estates, and, above all, from the innocence and integrity of his character. Seymour was anxious to ensure his support; but this was not all: the Protector, or, perhaps, rather his lady, had proposed their heir as a husband for Jane, and the Admiral was not less eager to thwart their views, than in the pursuit of his own. To his envy of his brother's greatness a private injury had lately added the desire of revenge. Henry had bequeathed to the Queen Dowager some estates, and certain valuable jewels, to the possession of neither of which she had been admitted. After her death, Seymour, seemingly with strict justice, claimed them of the Council, and that body, under the direction, as he conceived, of the Protector, refused to admit his claim.

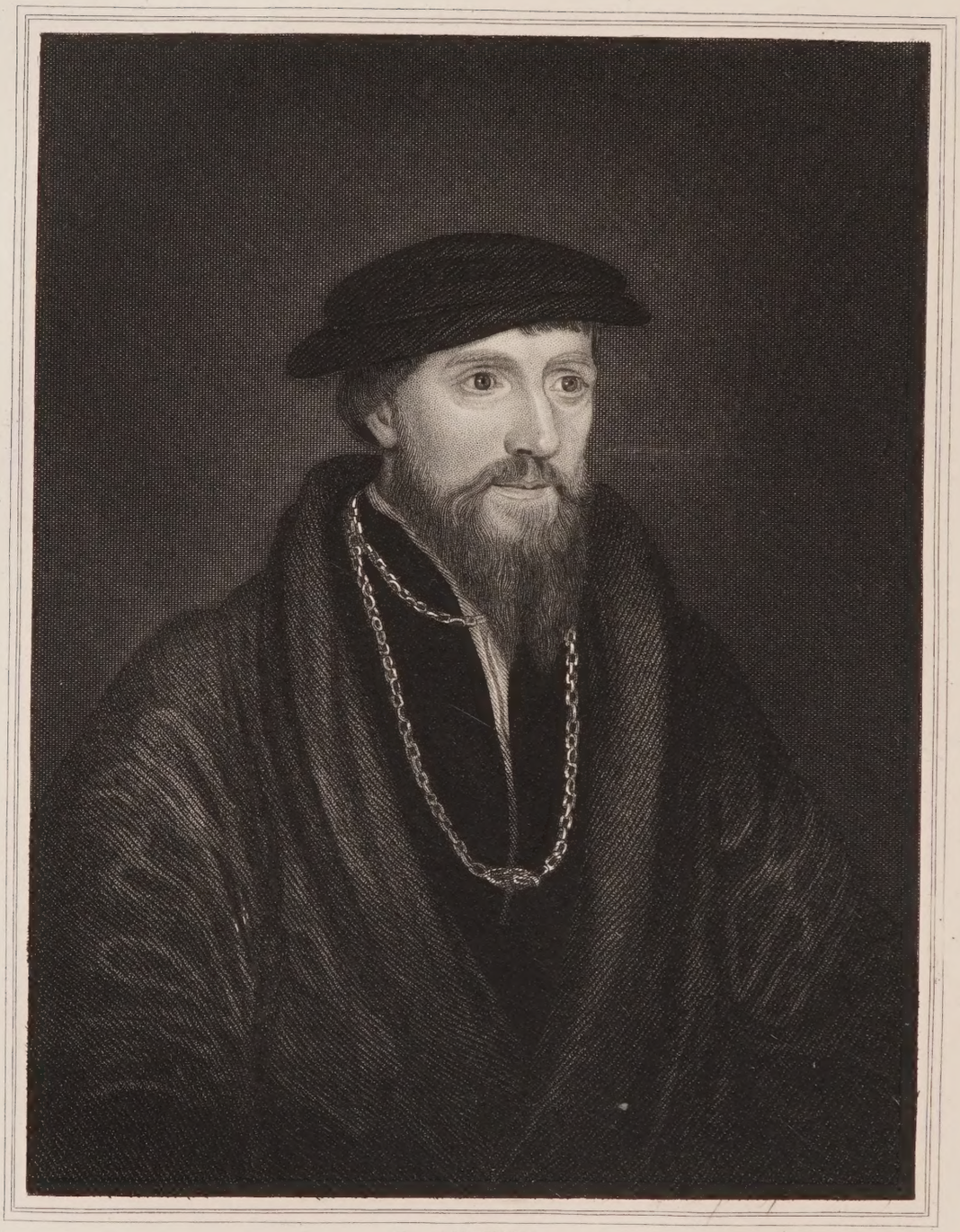
Somerset, however, seems to have acted, through the whole of their contest, with the most exemplary patience and moderation, resulting from a rooted tenderness for his brother; but new discoveries, rapidly succeeding each other, at length compelled him, not only for his own security, but for that of the realm, to interpose his authority. In addition to the instances that have been already given of Seymour's dangerous disposition, it now appeared that he had seduced by presents and promises almost all those persons who had ready access to the King's person, and were most in his confidence; that he had propagated the most injurious reports of the secret policy of his brother's government, asserting, among a multitude of other calumnies, that he was raising in Germany a mercenary force, by the aid of which he intended to establish a despotism in England; that he had established a formidable influence in every county of the realm; had computed that he could raise even among his own tenants, servants, and retainers, ten thousand men; had actually provided

arms for their use; and had gained to his interests Sir John Sharington, Master of the Mint at Bristol, who had engaged to supply him with money to equip them. The Protector, thoroughly informed on all these points, still hesitated. He endeavoured once more to try the effect of entire confidence and affectionate persuasion; reasoned and entreated with the coolness and impartiality of a disinterested friend; and strove, even at this late period, to reclaim his brother's kindness and duty by new favours and distinctions. Seymour, among whose faults treachery and deceit appear to have had no place, received these condescensions with a haughty sullenness, and would engage for nothing; and Dudley, Earl of Warwick, whose secret plans for raising himself on the ruins of the family of Seymour were already approaching to maturity, seized the opportunity afforded by this obstinacy of persuading the Protector to give up to his fate a man by whose talents and courage they would probably have been rendered abortive. Somerset, thus influenced, deprived his brother of the office of Admiral, and on the sixteenth of January, 1549, O. S. signed a warrant for his imprisonment in the Tower.

A committee of three Privy Counsellors was now deputed to take those examinations from which most of the foregoing particulars of Seymour's offences have been derived; the result was digested into thirty-three articles, which were laid before the Privy Council; and that assembly went presently after in a body to the Tower to interrogate himself, but he refused to answer; demanded time to consider the charges; and a public trial, in which he might be confronted with the witnesses. This was denied, and it was determined to prosecute him by a bill of attainder. No other instance perhaps can be found in which that suspicious and unpopular process had been at any time conducted with so much justice and fairness. It occupied exclusively the attention of the Parliament from the twenty-fourth of February till the fifth of March, and the multifarious facts alledged were canvassed with the most scrupulous exactness:

The Peers, by whom it was passed unanimously, paid the compliment, unusual in those days, to the lower House, of permitting such of their own body as could give evidence on the case to be there examined vivâ voce; and in the latter assembly, more than four hundred members being on that day present, it was opposed only by nine or ten voices. The Protector, now, with a reluctant hand, signed a warrant for Seymour's execution, and, on the twentieth of March, he suffered death on Tower Hill, in a sullen silence, and with a courage so ferocious and desperate, as to have given occasion to Bishop Latimer to say, in his fourth sermon, that "he died very dangerously, irksomely, horribly; so that his end was suitable to his life, which was very vicious, profane, and irreligious."

Lord Seymour was never married, but to Catherine Par, who left to him an only daughter, Mary, born in September, 1548, who survived him, and was restored in blood almost immediately after his death, but died an infant.



Engraved by W.T.Mote.

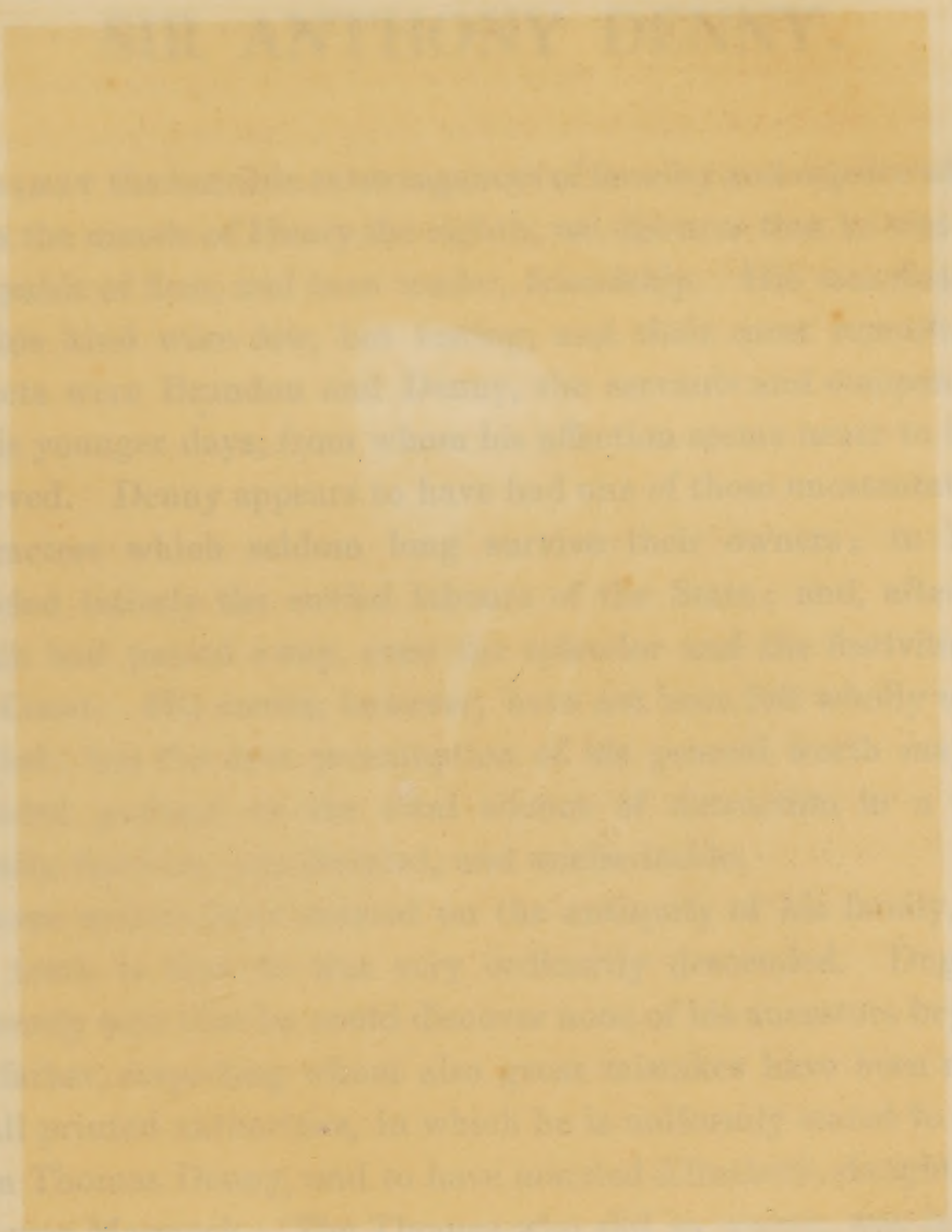
SIR ANTHONY DENNY.

OB. 1549.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF RADNOR.

London, Published Oct.^r 1.1834; by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



SIR ANTHONY DENNY.

Amidst the horrible extravagances of ferocity and caprice which stain the annals of Henry the eighth, we discover that he was not incapable of firm, and even tender, friendship. His attachments in this kind were few, but lasting, and their most remarkable objects were Brandon and Denny, the servants and companions of his younger days, from whom his affection seems never to have swerved. Denny appears to have had one of those unostentatious characters which seldom long survive their owners; to have avoided intirely the envied labours of the State; and, after his youth had passed away, even the splendor and the festivities of the Court. His merits, however, have not been left wholly unrecorded; but the best presumption of his general worth may be founded perhaps on the total silence of detraction in a time equally factious, unprincipled, and uncharitable.

Some writers have insisted on the antiquity of his family, but the truth is that he was very ordinarily descended. Dugdale expressly says that he could discover none of his ancestors beyond his father, respecting whom also gross mistakes have been made in all printed authorities, in which he is uniformly stated to have been Thomas Denny, and to have married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Mannock. The Thomas who did so marry, was in fact one of the elder brothers of Anthony, who was the fourth, but at length second surviving son of Edmund Denny, first a Clerk, afterwards Remembrancer, and at length a Baron of the Exchequer, and their mother was Mary, daughter and heir of a gentleman of the name of Troutbeck. Anthony was born on the eighteenth of January, in the year 1500; commenced his education at St. Paul's school; and completed it in St. John's College, in Cambridge, from whence he carried with him an eminent reputation for

universal learning. By what good fortune he obtained his introduction to the Court we are wholly ignorant, but it must have been at a very early time of life, and he seems to have acquired almost immediately not only Henry's favour but his confidence. He was made a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, then an office immediately about the royal person, to which he was soon after brought yet nearer by the appointment of Groom of the Stole. He became the King's constant and familiar attendant in all his progresses, and in his magnificent excursions to the continent; combated with him in the justs, and relieved the conversation of his private table by mingling with its gaieties the sober charms of science.

He had probably been an early convert to the new system of faith, for which, at all events, he shewed an extraordinary zeal in the very commencement of the reformation in England; but he is no where stigmatised as a persecutor, and indeed seems to have shunned all concern in the active measures by which that great event was accomplished. Few men, however, partook more largely in the spoil of the ancient Church. Henry granted to him in 1537 the dissolved Priory of Hertford, the manor of Butterwick, in the parish of St. Peter, in St. Alban's, and the manors of the Rectory, and of the Nunnery, in Cheshunt, and of Great Amwell, all in the county of Hertford; and in 1540, several valuable lands, part of the possessions of Waltham Abbey, in Essex, to which about the same time was added a lease for thirty-one years of all the remaining estates of that rich house, the whole of which were afterwards gradually obtained in fee from Edward the sixth by himself, and his widow. On the sixteenth of January, 1541, nearly all the demesnes of the yet more wealthy Abbey of St. Alban's were settled by Act of Parliament on him and his heirs, including the manors, advowsons, and most of the lands, of eleven parishes, together with many extensive farms in others. To these enormous gifts, amounting, at the least, to twenty thousand acres, in that part of the kingdom which

was then in the highest state of cultivation, and all within thirty miles of the metropolis, the King added in 1544 the great wardship of Margaret, only daughter and heir of Thomas Lord Audley, the intermixture of whose estates with his own contributed to raise his influence in Essex and Hertfordshire into a sort of dominion. He represented the latter county in the first Parliament of Edward the sixth, as it is scarcely to be doubted he had also in the preceding reign; a fact of no great importance, which a large chasm in our public records leaves in uncertainty.

He had not the distinction of knighthood till after 1541, about which time he was sworn of the Privy Council; and on the thirty-first of August, 1546, he was joined in a commission with two other trusty servants of the Crown to sign all public instruments in the King's name. Henry had fallen into such weakness as to be incapable of performing that office with his own hand, and a stamp was prepared for his use about that time, in imitation of his signature. It is probable therefore that this high trust was exercised by Denny and his colleagues merely for the short interval between the commencement of the King's inability and the completion of the stamp, which it has been pretty well ascertained that Henry used to apply with his own hand. In the succeeding January he attended his master's death-bed, and in the performance of his last duty, gave a signal proof of his fortitude, as well as of his piety and fidelity. "The King continued in decay," says Burnet, in his history of the reformation, "till the twenty-seventh of the month, and then, many signs of his approaching end appearing, few would adventure on so unwelcome a thing as to put him in mind of his end, then imminent; but Sir Anthony Denny had the honesty and courage to do it, and desired him to prepare for death, and remember his former life, and to call on God for mercy, through Jesus Christ. Upon which the King expressed his grief for the sins of his past life, yet he said he trusted in the mercies of Christ, which were greater than they were. Then Denny moved him to call in the aid of a pious

minister, and the King desired him to send for Archbishop Cranmer," &c. Henry appointed him of the Council to Edward the sixth, and one of the executors of his will, in which he bequeathed him a legacy of three hundred pounds.

Sir Anthony Denny did not long survive his royal friend. He died, little past the prime of life, at Cheshunt, on the tenth of September, 1549. Among the poems of Henry, Earl of Surrey, we find some lines, of no great interest, which seem to have been designed for his epitaph, and were therefore probably the work of some other pen, as Surrey died three years before him.

"Death, and the King, did, as it were, contend
Which of them two bare Denny greatest love:
The King, to shew his love can far extend,
Did him advance his betters far above:
Near place, much wealth, great honour, eke him gave,
To make it known what power great Princes have.

But when death came, with his triumphant gift,
From worldly carke he quit his wearied ghost,
Free from the corpse, and strait to heaven it lift.
Now deem that can who did for Denny most:
The King gave wealth, but fading and unsure:
Death brought him bliss that ever shall endure."

An epistle, however, addressed to him by Roger Ascham, affords us some view of his character, particularly in the following remarkable passage—"Religio, doctrina, respublica, omnes curas tuas sic occupant ut extra has tres res nullum tempus consumas." But the largest tribute extant to his memory is to be found in an heroic poem, by Sir John Cheke, published in Strype's life of that eminent person, from which I will beg leave to insert rather a long extract.

"Deneius venit ad superos, mortalia linquens,
Britannos inter clarus—
Quis dignam illius factis vocem, quis promere verba
Possit, et excelsas laudes æquare canendo?
Quæ pietas, et quanta viri? Quis fervor in illo

Religionis erat? Quam purus cultus in illo
Cælestis patris? Quanta in Christum fidei vis
Extitit illius sacrata morte redempti?
Munera quæ rursum? Quos & libavit honores
Justitiæque speique Deo? Quæ victima laudis
Cæsa fuit? Grati cordisque orisque diurna
Hostia, quam sæpe est hominum divumque parenti
Oblata in Christo. Christinam haud immemor unquam
Ille fuit, propter divinam sanguine fuso,
Mortem mortales quæ primum conciliavit,
Peccati, scelerisque, ruina, et pendere pressos.
Quid memorem Henricum claro de stemmate Regem,
Henricum octavum terræ, marisque potentem?
O quibus hic studiis, quo illum est amplexus amore,
Quem sibi subjectumque bonum, servumque fidelem
Scribat, et officia hæc haud parvo munere pensans,
Ostendit se herumque bonum, Regemque benignum.
Consiliumque lepos quantum superadditus auget,
Et juvat optatas ad res bene conficiendas,
Ille alios tantum superat, qui flectere mentem
Henrici potuit, miscens nunc utile dulci,
Seria nunc levibus texens, nunc grandia parvis.
Quam facilem cursum hic aliis ad vota sequenda
Fecerat, atque aditum multis facilem patefecit?
Quam bona multa aliis, et quam mala nulla cuiquam
Intulit? Et laudem summam virtutis habebat
Hujus, qui nullos nec apertos læserat hostes," &c.

Sir Anthony Denny married Joan, daughter of Sir Philip Champernoun, of Modbury, in Devonshire, a lady of remarkable beauty and talents, and a zealous supporter of the reformed religion, which she openly avowed, to her great hazard. Fox has recorded that she sent money by her servants, to the amiable and courageous Anne Ayscue, who afterward suffered death at the stake, when a prisoner in the Compter. She brought him two sons, and three daughters. Henry, the eldest son, married, first, Honora, daughter of William, Lord Grey of Wilton; and, secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of John, Lord Grey of Pyrgo, and had by the former an only son, Edward, who was by James the

first created Baron Denny, of Waltham, in Essex, and by Charles the first, Earl of Norwich, which dignities became extinct at his death, as he left an only daughter, his sole heir, wife to James Hay, Earl of Carlisle. Sir Edward Denny, second son of Sir Anthony, married Margaret, daughter of Peter Edgecumbe, of Mount Edgecumbe, in Devonshire, by whom he was the ancestor of a family of his name now remaining in Ireland. The daughters were Douglas, wife of Richard Dyve; Mary, married to Thomas Astley, a groom of the Privy Chamber; and Honora, to Thomas Wingfield.

Engraved by S. Freeman.

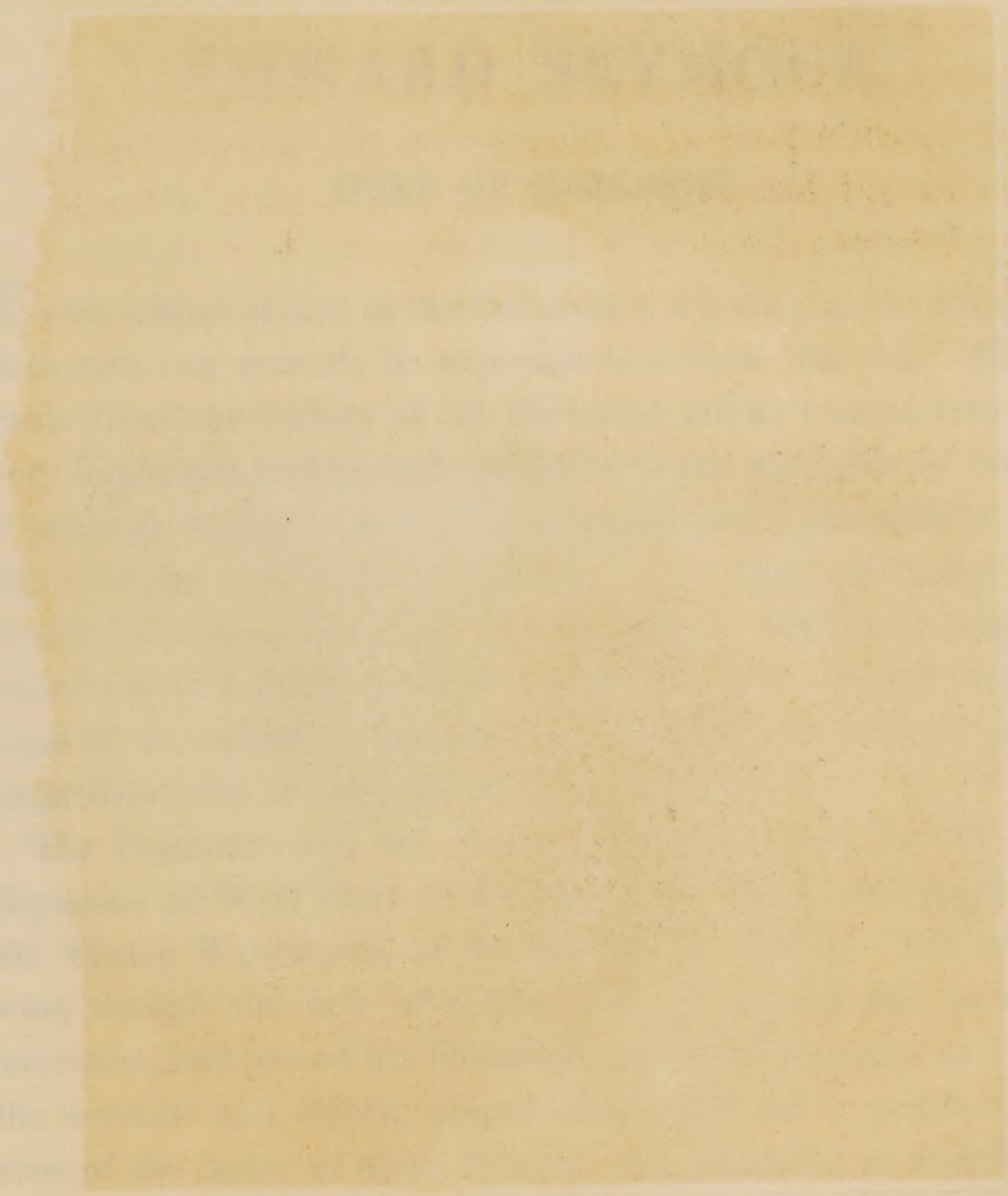
EDWARD SEYMOUR, DUKE OF SOMERSET.

OB. 1552.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF BATH.

London, Published Oct. 1, 1829, by Harding & Lepard Pall Mall East.



EDWARD SEYMOUR,

DUKE OF SOMERSET.

Even a faint sketch of the life of such a person as the Protector Somerset can scarcely be expected in a work like this. Inseparable from the history of all the great public transactions of a very important period, and enveloped in the mysteries of faction, it presents a theme not less for argumentative disquisition than for extended and exact narration. A treatise embracing both would be a great historical acquisition, but he who is bound to confine such a subject to the limits of a brief memoir must be content to restrict himself to a dry detail of facts, or to an imperfect series of conjectures and presumptions.

The Protector was the eldest of the six sons of Sir John Seymour, of Wolf Hall, in Wiltshire, by Margaret, daughter of Sir Henry Wentworth, of Nettlested, in Suffolk. His father, who, though the heir of a long line of wealthy and powerful ancestors, had passed his life in the courts and armies of Henry the seventh and eighth, placed him, while yet a youth, in the view of the latter of those Princes, recommended as well by the best education of the time, for he had studied profitably in both Universities, as by a turn for military gallantry, and an eminent sweetness of temper. The King received him favourably, and permitted him to accompany the Duke of Suffolk in his expedition to the coast of France in August 1523, where his bravery in several actions was rewarded by that nobleman with the honour of knighthood, conferred in the field. He returned to distinguish himself in the warlike sports of the Court in which Henry so much delighted; was one of the chosen party which graced

Wolsey's splendid embassy to Paris in 1527; and attended the King at his celebrated interview with Francis the first in 1532, holding at that time the honourable, but now obsolete, office of Esquire of the royal body.

Having thus slowly attained to that station, and perhaps indulging little hope of further preferment, an event occurred which ranked him suddenly among the highest in the realm. Henry became enamoured of his sister Jane, and, even before his passion for her was publicly known, raised her to the throne. On the fifth of June, 1536, a few days after the marriage, Seymour was raised to the dignity of Viscount Beauchamp, and on the eighteenth of October, in the ensuing year, created Earl of Hertford. The untimely death of the Queen, which occurred just at that period, caused no diminution of the royal favour towards him, but Henry, unwilling to expose her family to the envy of the Court, prudently delayed to advance him to high offices, nor was he placed in any but the comparatively insignificant posts of Chancellor and Chamberlain of North Wales, and Governor of Jersey, till 1540, when he was sent Ambassador to Paris, to settle some disputes as to the boundaries of the English territory in France. On his return, in the beginning of the following year, he received the Order of the Garter, and in 1542 was appointed Lord Great Chamberlain of England for life. In the mean time the King had sought to gratify his passion for military fame by giving him a command in the forces not long before sent into Scotland, under the Duke of Norfolk, in which he acquitted himself so well that on the declaration of war against the Scots in 1544 the first of the three divisions of the powerful army then dispatched into that country was intrusted wholly to his charge, together with the important office of Lieutenant General of the North. At home new marks of favour and confidence awaited him: Henry, who this year crossed the channel to the siege of Boulogne, named him one of the four counsellors by whose advice the Queen was to be directed, and commander in chief on any

occasions of military service which might occur during his absence. Amidst these ample engagements he pined for warlike enterprize; obtained the King's permission to join him before Boulogne; and distinguished himself there by the most signal skill and bravery in several actions after the reduction of the town, as well as by the sagacity which he displayed in the treaty of peace with Francis which presently followed. On his return from France he was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and Henry, who died soon after, included him in the number of his executors, to whom, in the nature of a Council of Regency, he intrusted the guardianship of his son.

One of the first acts of that Council was to invest him with the supreme government, and the title of Protector of the realm, and Governor of the King's person; and one of the first purposes to which he applied his authority was to use the King's name in advancing himself to the dignity of Duke of Somerset. To remove the imputation of vanity so likely to attend such a step a curious expedient was devised. Some other eminent persons were at the same time raised to the Peerage, and others promoted in it, and each individually testified for all the rest that it was the declared intention of the late King to have bestowed on them the titles now conferred, which was done therefore but in obedience to his pleasure. The Protector assumed also, about the same time, the great office of Earl Marshal, for life.

Edward's reign commenced with a war against the Scots. A treaty for his marriage to their infant Queen had been earnestly agitated by Henry, who on his death-bed commanded that it should be carried on with all assiduity, and the Protector zealously resumed it, but was baffled by delays and evasions. Any pretext for an invasion of that country was in those days welcome. Twenty thousand men, admirably equipped, were marched into Scotland by Somerset in person, and gained a complete victory in the sanguinary and decisive battle of Musselborough, almost without loss. His return was hailed with marks of respect and

love, amounting almost to adoration. Charmed by the fickle voice of the multitude, it was perhaps now that he conceived an unreasonable affection to popularity, and fondly sought to strengthen his authority by resting it on the ever doubtful basis of public esteem.

His vain endeavours to this end produced universal disgust. To ingratiate himself with the nobility, who as yet held the spoils of the ancient church but by a precarious tenure, he applied himself with vigour to destroy every vestige of its practice. Shortly after his arrival from Scotland he issued injunctions for the removal from churches of all images, and other visible objects of worship, and dispatched commissioners into every part of the kingdom to enforce the execution. The commonalty, with whom the march of the reformation had been more tardy, perhaps because it administered nothing to their temporal interests, highly resented this harsh and sudden subversion of their inveterate habits, which even Henry for the time had left undisturbed. On the other hand, he attempted to win the mass of the people by an ordinance as summary and unexpected, not only prohibiting the inclosure of commons, and waste lands, but charging those who had already made inclosures to lay them again open. It is needless to say that such persons were almost wholly of the higher order, and it will readily be conceived that they considered this regulation as a heinous injury. A fever of discontent presently raged throughout the realm. Insurrections burst forth in several counties on the score of religion. In others the people, impatient of the delay and unwillingness with which the inclosers restored to them a property their right to which had now acquired a new guarantee, rose in thousands, and having broken down the fences which had debarred them, proceeded, according to the invariable practice of mobs, to spoil the mansions and the goods of the offenders. In the mean time a powerful party was secretly formed against him in the Court.

At the head of this faction was his brother, Thomas Lord Seymour, of Sudeley, whom he had advanced at the commencement of Edward's reign to that dignity, and to the office of Lord Admiral of England. The conduct of that nobleman towards the Protector, and its motives, and the lenity, and even tenderness, which he experienced to the last at the hands of his injured brother, may be found treated of at large in this work, in a memoir appropriated to himself. The Admiral, after long delays, was put to death for repeated treasons, but a more formidable adversary presently appeared. John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, a man of considerable talents, and equally ambitious and intrepid, was the Protector's secret enemy, and, from motives as well of anger as of envy, had determined to accomplish his ruin. Somerset, to gratify his brother, had deprived Warwick of the great office of Lord Admiral, which he had filled with abundant credit during the five concluding years of the late reign, and the offence was never forgiven. Warwick, however, dissembled till after the fall of Lord Seymour. He had privately encouraged that nobleman in his practices against the Protector, whom, on the other hand, he urged to resent them to the utmost. A majority of the Privy Council was now united against Somerset, and Warwick eagerly undertook to be their leader; they seceded suddenly from the main body, assuming the authority of the whole, and indeed the government of the realm; and this step was concerted with such secrecy that the Protector seems to have been wholly unapprized of its approach. They humbly averred to the King, and indeed not untruly, that his uncle had on most occasions contemned their advice, and issued a proclamation to the same effect. Somerset abandoned his authority with pusillanimous precipitation. Articles of accusation were drawn up, and he acknowledged the justice of them on his knees at the Council table. He then signed a confession to the same purpose, which was presented to the Parliament, and that assembly, having first examined him by a committee, stripped him of all his offices,

and, by way of fine, of estates to the annual value of two thousand pounds. Here his prosecution ceased for the time; he was released from the Tower, where he had suffered a very short imprisonment; and was soon after discharged of his fine. These matters occurred in the winter of 1549.

The plenitude of power of which he had been deprived now passed into the hands of Warwick, who seemed to be fully appeased by the sacrifice. A personal reconciliation between them, apparently sincere, was wrought through the mediation of the amiable Edward, who even prevailed on Warwick to give his eldest son in marriage to one of Somerset's daughters. The Duke, who possessed most of the qualities which bestow comfort and ornament on private life, laid down, perhaps with little regret, a burthen which neither his talents nor his temper had well fitted him to support; but Warwick, by whose ambitious and ardent spirit such moderation was utterly inconceivable, and who had injured Somerset too deeply ever to forgive him, still suspected and hated him. Popular affection had in some degree attended the Duke in his retirement, and, though wholly forsaken by the powerful, and possessing none of the qualities of a demagogue, his influence was yet dreaded. Warwick, now Duke of Northumberland, at length determined to deprive him of life, and he was arrested on the sixteenth of October, 1551, together with several of his intimates and retainers, among whom some through purchased treachery, and others from careless imprudence, had divulged to the spies of Northumberland the facts on which his accusation was to be formed, and which were to be proved by no other than their own evidence.

Northumberland's utmost influence seems to have been exerted to induce the Privy Council, servile as it was, to consent that he should be brought to a trial on charges which any grand jury of later days would have rejected with horror and disdain. After repeated examinations, that process, however, took place on the first of the succeeding December, twenty-seven peers forming the

Court. It was alledged against him that he had meditated insurrections to subvert the Government, and had conspired to assassinate certain noblemen at a banquet in the house of the Lord Paget, and, incredible as it may seem, three of these, Northumberland, the Marquis of Northampton, and the Earl of Pembroke, had the effrontery to sit that day among his judges. On the first class of charges he was indicted of high treason; on the second of felony; but no overt act tending to either was adduced, nor was any proof made but of some vague and uncertain speeches, uttered in the freedom of familiar conversation; neither was he allowed to confront the witnesses, for this wretched evidence was delivered in the form of written depositions. Spite of the vengeance of the prosecutor, and the gross partiality of the court, it should seem that he might have been saved by slight exertions on his own part of common prudence; but he made no defence; uttered no clear denial of the charges; nor did he except with firmness against the palpable irregularities of the process; but wasted his time in unmeaning apologies, and sought to move the compassion of his judges by such plaints as usually result from the depression produced by conscious demerit. In the end, he was acquitted of treason, but convicted of the felony, and condemned to die. He suffered on Tower Hill, on the twenty-second of January, N. S. with a deportment and a speech which had little in them to denote the man who had ruled kingdoms, and commanded armies, or to afford any clear inference either of his innocence or guilt.

The Protector was twice married. By his first lady, Catharine, daughter and coheir of Sir William Fillol, of Woodlands, in Dorsetshire, whom he repudiated, he had an only son, Edward. He married, secondly, Anne, daughter of Sir Edward Stanhope, of Rampton, in the county of Nottingham, to whose pride, insolence, intriguing spirit, and controul over his conduct, some writers have ascribed most of his misfortunes and errors. She brought him a numerous issue, of which Edward, the eldest son,

was appointed his heir, under a special intail, created by act of Parliament (the only son by the first marriage being about the same time disinherited, as well of the titles as of the estates), and from this second son descended that line of Dukes of Somerset which failed in 1750. He had also by his Duchess, Anne Stanhope, two younger sons; Henry, and another Edward; and six daughters; Anne, first married, as has been already stated, to John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, eldest son to John, Duke of Northumberland; secondly, to Sir Edward Unton, of Wadley, in Oxfordshire, Knight of the Bath; Margaret, and Jane, who died unmarried, as did the fifth daughter, Catherine; Mary, married, first, Andrew, eldest son to Sir Richard Rogers, of Bryanstone, in the county of Dorset; secondly, to Sir Henry Peyton; and Elizabeth, wife to Sir Richard Knightley, of Fawsley, in Northamptonshire. On the extinction, alluded to above, of the male line from the eldest son of this second marriage, the Dukedom reverted at length to the heir male of Edward, the disinherited son of the first, from whom the present Duke of Somerset is lineally descended. The public and private history of these family affairs, of which as much has been here stated as is consistent with the views of this work, is little known, and of great curiosity.